DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 328 720 CE 056 889

AUTHOR	Rohfield, Rae Wahl, Ed.
TITLE	Breaking New Ground: The Development of Adult and Workers' Education in North America. Proceedings from the Syracuse University Kellogg Project's Visiting Scholar Conference in the History of Adult Education (1st, Syracuse, New York, March 1989).
INSTITUTION	Syracuse Univ., N.Y. School of Education.
SPONS AGENCY	Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Mich.
PUB DATE	Nov 90
NOTE	305p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Syracuse University Kellogg Project, 310 Lyman Hall, 108 College Place, Syracuse, NY 13244-1270 ($8.50 plus $2.00 shipping; two or more--10% discount, plus $1.50 each shipping).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Historical Materials (060)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Adult Education; Adult Educators; Blacks; *Educational Development; *Educational History; Folk Schools; Foreign Countries; Immigrants; *Labor Education; *Participative Decision Making; Postsecondary Education; Public Policy; Social Integration; Teacher Education; Unions; Womens Education; *Working Class
IDENTIFIERS	Canada; United States

ABSTRACT

The 19 papers in this conference report examine the formative period of the field of adult education, the development of workers' education, and the interrelationships of the two fields. The four papers in Section I, on defining adult education are: "Challenging the System: The Adult Education Movement and the Educational Bureaucracy of the 1920s" (Rose); "The American Library Adult Education Movement: The Diffusion of Knowledge and the Democratic Ideal, 1924-1933" (Rachal); "A Primary Source for Everett Dean Martin's Agenda for Adult Education" (Day); and "The Danish Folk High School and Its Reception in the United States: 1870s-1930s" (Stubblefield). Section II contains two papers on adult education as a new academic field: "Early Ideas on the Training of Leaders for Adult Education" (Brockett) and "Social Science and the Making of Adult Education Theory: Influences on the Study of Participation, 1930-1960" (Courtney). The 10 papers in Section III address the questions of whether workers' education and adult education are separate topics. They are: "Early Interpretations of Workers' Education" (Keane); "Education and Working Class Culture: German Workers' Clubs in Nineteenth Century Chicago" (Schied); "Workers' Education as Counter Hegemony: The Educational Process at Work Peoples' College, 1907-1941" (Altenbaugh); "Dangerous Knowledge: Canadian Workers' Education in the Decades of Discord" (Welton); "Fannia Mary Cohn: An Education Leader in Labor and Workers' Education, Her Life and Times" (Long, Lawry); "Eduard Lindeman and Workers' Education" (Stewart); "Workers' Education and Adult Education" (Bloom); "The Women of Summer: The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, 1921-1938" (Heller); "Workers' Education and the National Urban League" (Morgan); and "Building for a Long Future: Workers' Education in the Progressive Era" (Casey). Section IV provides three papers on adult education, workers' education, and national policy: "New Deal Teacher-Training Centers, 1934-1935" (Kornbluh); "Education in the Work Place: A Brief Overview" (Carlson); and "The Morale of the People: Reflections on Adult Education in British Columbia in the Great Depression" (Selman). (YLB)

ED328720

Breaking New Ground: The Development of Adult and Workers' Education in North America

Proceedings

From the Syracuse University Kellogg Project's
First Visiting Scholar Conference in the
History of Adult Education

March 1989

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Breaking New Ground:
The Development of Adult and Workers' Education in North America

Proceedings from the
Syracuse University Kellogg Project's
First Visiting Scholar Conference
in the History of Adult Education
March 1989

Editor
Rae Wahl Rohfeld

Copy Editor
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Syracuse, New York

November 1990

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BREAKING NEW GROUND: THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT AND WORKERS' EDUCATION IN NORTH AMERICA

Introduction

Encouragement and support for research in the history of adult education is a fundamental element of the Syracuse University Kellogg Project. The idea for the Project grew from the desire to make the University's manuscript collections in adult and continuing education more accessible to researchers. This led to several major project activities: the creation of an optical disk storage and retrieval system for manuscript materials; the development of new communication networks (electronic and nonelectronic) for sharing information and ideas; and the facilitation of historical research by providing consultation and financial support for research activity. This publication reflects the Project's interest in encouraging and making available new knowledge about the history of the field.

The papers in this volume were presented in March 1989 at the first in a series of Visiting Scholar Conferences in History sponsored by the Syracuse University Kellogg Project. The goals of each conference are to build a network of scholars in the history of adult education, to increase awareness of the Syracuse University Adult and Continuing Education Research Collection, to act as a catalyst for future research, to foster interdisciplinary exchange, and to disseminate historical research. At this first conference, participants had an opportunity to become acquainted with the manuscript collections and consider research they would like to pursue in them at a future date. Their presentations, however, were the products of previous research conducted mainly in collections elsewhere.

Speakers at this first conference addressed the development of workers' education and of adult education between the Wars; several speakers explored the links between these two areas. In selecting these two focal points, the conference organizers purposely chose topics which had already captured considerable attention among two groups of scholars: adult educators and labor historians. Thus, the subject matter offered opportunities to develop new insights based on interdisciplinary discussions. Conference participants were at varying stages in the progress of their work. Some discussed the fruits of many years of research; others were in early stages of exploring new questions, but each added to the body of knowledge and enriched the interdisciplinary exchanges which took place.

One of the unstated questions behind the two publicized topics--workers' education and adult education between the Wars--was whether conference participants would, indeed, see these as two separate topics or whether they would see workers' education and adult education as overlapping. Did the different labels reflect the perspectives of the researchers or the philosophies of the educational programs? Participants undoubtedly left the conference with different answers to this question, depending on their views of societal structure and conflict. Worker educators, and the labor historians who write about them, tended to see two areas of education; adult educators, and their historians, were more likely to call worker education an aspect of adult education. The discussions illuminated significant qualities of workers' education and adult education that helped people reflect on the similarities and differences in the two areas of education.

In what proved to be an exciting variety of presentations, a few themes emerged from the conference sessions. By identifying particular papers with a theme, the editor does not mean to imply that the theme is central to the paper. Indeed, each paper defines an important question to the field and makes its unique contribution to dealing with the question. Nevertheless, certain ideas seem to recur in one form or another, and it seems useful to identify them.

One theme that ran through many discussions was control of the educational process. Worker educators almost invariably discussed workers' education as something workers had to control or influence rather than as something that others would give to them. Workers wanted to participate in determining their group's needs and in planning the educational programs that would meet these needs. Adult educators spoke of adults in general and believed, firstly, that they could identify the needs of any group--perhaps with some input from the clients; and secondly, that it was their professional responsibility to design all programs. They based these beliefs on the notion that "education" was different from "propaganda," mainly because education dealt objectively with agreed-upon knowledge. (In this view, they reflected the early 20th century confidence in "objective knowledge" obtainable through scientific study.) Although adult educators advocated student involvement in planning their education, the meaning of "involvement" left room for differences over the issue of control. On the other hand, even the least class-conscious workers and worker educators expressed the view that workers had to have a clear role in making educational decisions so that the programs would reflect the workers' true interests.

Many of the papers discuss these control issues, either as a central focus or as a component issue. Richard Altenbaugh uses Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and counter hegemony to analyze a workers' college in terms of whose interests the education served. Patrick Keane demonstrates how class and control issues in education for workers were present as far back as the late 18th century. Fred Schied's writing on 19th century German workers' clubs and Michael Welton's on turn-of-the-century labor activity in Canada present two very different settings in which workers' education programs sought to establish and maintain the workers' own culture in the face of an opposing one. Jon Bloom shows that the leaders of Brookwood Labor College clearly stated the differences of class interest that occurred in workers' education as opposed to adult education. Huey Long and Constance Lawry discuss the worker control issue in connection with Fannia Cohn's career in workers' education. Rita Heller shows that at Bryn Mawr, probably the most traditional educational institution involved in workers' education, the College's leaders, M. Carey Thomas and Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith, came to accept the necessity of workers' involvement in educational decision-making. Looking at the workers' education efforts of employers rather than those of employees, Robert Carlson demonstrates how employer and government-sponsored workers' education attempted to achieve social integration of the classes and minimize the sense of class interest. While workers recognized and valued their class interests, employers and government sought to diminish their importance. Catherine Casey's paper discusses the Progressive Era as the backdrop for developments in adult and workers' education.

A second theme that emerges from the papers is the pluralism of ideology among different adult educators. Michael Day, David Stewart, and Amy Rose, writing on Everett Dean Martin, Eduard Lindeman, and the Carnegie Foundation leaders, respectively, describe people with diverse educational philosophies, particularly regarding the relationship of education to societal needs. Yet, all the subjects shared the common cause of building the adult education movement. And, while workers' educators often differentiated themselves from adult educators, there were also significant links between adult and workers' education. Some links were the result of personal involvement: Eduard Lindeman and Charles Beard were among the more prominent individuals whose work spanned the two areas. Some links were conceptual: Joyce Kornbluh's paper demonstrates the link that developed through a shared pedagogy. The adult education field seems always to have contained--even prided itself on--a wide diversity of belief.

The adaptation of imported and created structures to meet needs of specific communities is a third theme apparent in several papers. People brought educational forms to the United States to support immigrant cultures and interests, as Altenbaugh and Schied demonstrate, or to facilitate social change, as Harold Stubblefield describes. The National Urban League created its own new form, the workers' councils, described in Charlotte Morgan's paper, to prepare black urban newcomers for labor union participation. Once introduced, these forms underwent significant change. The larger American culture absorbed the immigrants and their children of whom Altenbaugh and Schied write, and these immigrant working-class cultures gave way to the hegemonic culture. The Urban League's Workers Councils varied their activities in the course of dealing with urban racism, but as Morgan reports, they declined by the end of the 1930s. Importing the Danish Folk School to achieve social improvement fared no better, Stubblefield shows, until the concept underwent a major change to suit the

American environment. Then it survived in the form of Highlander School, which has remained a model of social change and community development through adult education.

With the proliferation of interest in adult education and new educational institutions and programs for adults after World War I came the emergence of a field and the beginnings of professionalism, the fourth theme that occurs in these papers. Amy Rose discusses the establishment of the American Association of Adult Education (AAAE) and its metamorphosis into the professional group for a diverse field, thus frustrating its founders' efforts to define adult education in the particular way she describes. John Rachal explores the connections between the AAAE and the American Library Association and demonstrates the important role that librarians played in the adult education movement. Ralph Brockett looks at several components of professionalism and focuses on the emergence of professional training for adult educators. Sean Courtney examines the social science foundations of adult education and traces the move from a social science base to a behavioral science base. This change seems reflective of a certain tension that existed among adult educators between the collective or community-oriented goals of education, such as those described here in the papers on workers' education, and the individual-oriented goals, such as those discussed in Michael Day's paper on Martin. Looking beyond the field itself, Gordon Selman discusses how the Province of British Columbia included professional adult education in its public policy and service during the Depression.

The papers in this collection provide an opportunity to examine the formative period of the field of adult education, the development of workers' education, and the interrelationships of the two fields. Many of the issues discussed have present-day versions: Where does adult education fit in education as a whole?; Who controls adult education?; What is the role of student involvement?; What do we include within adult education?; Is adult education a profession?; Should it be?; What is the desirable relationship between learners and professional educators?; How can the field build stronger theory?; and How can adult education influence government policy? Examining these issues as they arose in the past can help us develop new perspectives and insights for the further development of the field.

Producing this volume required the contributions of many members of the Syracuse University Kellogg Project Staff. I particularly want to thank Irene Quinlan for her outstanding work as copy editor. Thanks go as well to Joanne Ranz, Glynda Spencer, and Joyce VanDenburg for their typing and editing. Without such a dedicated staff, this publication would not have been possible.

CHALLENGING THE SYSTEM: THE ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT AND THE EDUCATIONAL BUREAUCRACY OF THE 1920s

Amy D. Rose

Adult education is a practical field, and, as such, most of its research has focused on the improvement of practice rather than on what are traditionally referred to as "foundations" areas of study. This is not to say that historians have ignored the history of educational programs or institutions for adults. In fact, such studies have proliferated, fueled by the convergence of interests of the new social and labor history. Educational historians have also shown interest sparked first by Bailyn's admonishment to look beyond schooling for the sources of education, and later by Cremin's work on the configurations of education. In addition, adult educators themselves have taken a more reflective look at history and attempted to critically examine the past. But as the body of work grows, it becomes more important to define exactly what historical questions are being asked and answered.[1]

One of the problems of working in the history of adult education is that a definition is elusive. Adult education has come to mean so many different things to so many people that it is difficult to develop a common terminology. This is particularly true in historical inquiry. Part of the problem is that the lens used to approach this history of adult education is usually exceedingly narrow. Outside of questions dealing with the beginning of the field, most of the studies have been used simply to show that adult education (or the education of adults) has always existed and to enumerate its many manifestations. Too often the interrelationship between views of the education of children and developments within adult education have been overlooked in an attempt to establish adult education as a unique area of study.[2]

The development of a movement of adult education followed a period of expansion of schooling. Ironically as the definition of the functions of the school broadened, the concept of education itself narrowed, moving inexorably toward becoming a synonym with schooling. Adult education in the 1920s represented a movement on the part of an odd array of progressives and conservatives to take the concept of education out of the realm of the school. Building on Dewey's idea that education takes place throughout life, adult educators sought to identify those influences (outside of the schools) which made life "educative." The reasons behind this movement were complex and involved several factors. Of primary importance was dissatisfaction with children's education and the feeling that society needed to depend on more than this if democracy were to be maintained.

Yet, when historians of adult education have looked at the intellectual roots of the movement, they have stressed the various aspects of the meanings and goals of adult education. While often implicit, the explicit link between concern over the state of children's education and the encouragement of the adult education movement has not been addressed. Not only will such an exploration improve our understanding of the professional adult education movement in the United States during the 1920s, but it will also add to our understanding of educational reform in general during this period. The development of adult education was not an isolated phenomenon, but rather part of a more complex movement to broaden educational impact as a whole, while narrowing the influence of the educational bureaucracy.

This initial effort will begin an examination of some of the attitudes of the prime movers who worked to establish the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE) in 1926. In particular, it will examine the aims of the Carnegie Corporation and its views toward public education. This examination will demonstrate that the movement to build adult education involved an inherent critique of the system of public and higher education which had developed during the postwar period. Finally, some of the views towards adult learning will be discussed within the context of a critique of public education.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION

Although the education of adults has certainly always existed, until the late 19th century there was little idea that adult education was any different from childrens' education. In fact, the term adult education, itself, was first used in the United States in the 1890s.[3] In the early part of the 20th century, the institutions for the education of adults expanded along with all other educational agencies. Thus, we see the expansion of public adult education programs, university extension, and urban evening colleges during this period. In addition, the influx of immigrants beginning in the 1880s had led to the development of the settlement houses with their expanded educational programs. The education of adults touched many different areas and was closely allied with the nascent social work and public health movements, applied sociology, and the more progressive elements of the traditional academic disciplines. These were all concerned with the problem of how academic knowledge could be conveyed to the public and how behavior could be changed as a result of this new knowledge. The Americanization movement brought these issues to a head as various groups developed conflicting philosophies of acculturation and cultural pluralism.

The Carnegie Corporation entered the discussion on Americanization with a study of the process by which individuals became assimilated. The study, commissioned in 1918 and carried out over the following years, went beyond a study of Americanization classes to encompass an examination of the family, the community, the arts, the media, and other interactions between American and immigrant life in order to uncover which forces encouraged the process and which ones acted negatively.[4] In many ways, the Americanization study stands as a prototype for future Carnegie interest in the education of adults. In its search for the educative aspects of all forms of social interaction, the study went far beyond the strictures normally associated with educational agencies.

In the 1920s the Carnegie Corporation developed a more thorough and systematic policy towards adult education. In 1924 the foundation began to explore the possibility of funding projects in adult education and, in fact, establishing it as a priority area for future grants. Because of a policy mandated by its new President, Frederick P. Keppel, the Corporation set out to consult with leading educators of adults before embarking in its new direction. After a series of meetings held throughout the country, the AAAE was founded in 1926 by a group of adult educators with the blessing of the Carnegie Corporation. While ostensibly an independent organization, it was headed by Morse Cartwright, Keppel's former assistant, and had as its clear purpose the task of making funding recommendations to the Corporation about adult education projects.[5]

While the development of this organization has usually been tied to professionalizing imperatives within the field itself, it is clear that the Carnegie Corporation had other concerns. While some of these related to internal organizational and fiscal pressures, much of the Carnegie focus centered on dissatisfaction with the current system of education within the United States. Adult education was seen as a movement which could rectify some of the problems and shift the educational system away from an ever-increasing bureaucratic structure.

THE CRITIQUE OF SCHOOLING

A principal dynamic behind the growth of adult education in the 1920s was a criticism of the expanded educational systems of the postwar period. While criticism of the schools came from various quarters, some of the strongest came from those who later advocated the movement for adult education. Henry Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and Keppel's predecessor as Acting President of the Carnegie Corporation, emerged as a sharp critic of the educational system of the postwar period. Pritchett's views are important because as Acting President he laid the foundation for the eventual Carnegie interest in adult education. Since the background of the Carnegie interest in adult education has not been adequately explored, many of the reasons for this interest have become obscured.

Pritchett's principal objections to postwar education stemmed from concern with the overexpansion of the school system and the concomitant cost of additional services and programs. These were closely allied to worries about who was attending the nation's schools and colleges as well as what they were learning and whether society would ultimately benefit from the emphasis on mass education. These concerns were echoed in statements emphasizing the loss of local control over education, the denigration of the individual, and the loss of a liberal emphasis in all educational efforts.

Pritchett's critique of the schools was based on a fundamental questioning of the optimistic greeting initially given the expansion of the schools. He viewed the notion that education could solve social problems with disdain. Not only were these problems eluding solution, but the entire educational system was being destroyed in the process. There were too many enrollments, an overemphasis on vocational training, and overspecialization. In addition, expansion had created a massive bureaucratic structure which inhibited creativity and reduced learning to the mere counting of credit.[6]

In two essays included in the Annual Reports of the Carnegie Foundation, Pritchett, laid out the essence of his argument. He was concerned about the rising cost of education and identified what he considered to be the reasons for the current situation. The public education system had become overorganized, diffuse and superficial, and unable to teach children what they needed to know to become effective American citizens. New programs funded at a steep cost had added nothing to general learning, but only contributed to what he termed the "intellectual dyspepsia" of schoolchildren.[7]

The basic problem was that the school had taken on too many functions, calling them all "education." Pritchett traced the origins of this phenomenon to the time of the dropping of the classical curriculum and the influx of new students. At heart, the problem of the schools was the fault of the movement toward universal education. This movement had "transformed education." Schools, which had initially prepared the "exceptional boy," had now become the chief agency "for the training of human beings." According to Pritchett, this shift had resulted in a less adequate preparation for the truly exceptional.[8]

A principal outcome of this influx of new students was the gradual "bureaucratization" of the school. As a result, the nature of the teacher-pupil relationship had changed, as the teacher had ceded primary responsibility for what happened within the classroom. The schools had developed bureaucratic structures antithetical to the notion of the teacher as "the source from which the training and improvement of the pupil is sought." In particular the ability of the teachers to teach had been undermined as the teachers became "submerged" in a bureaucratic structure within which they could not adequately perform their appointed tasks.[9] This transformation had resulted in a loss of individuality and a reliance on such outside techniques as testing, as opposed to individual judgment. In this way, the school had been transformed from a "personal direct agency for the few into a great machine for the many."[10]

Pritchett felt that professional organizations for teachers had added to the bureaucratic turmoil. In his view, teachers' unions undercut the unique responsibility of the teacher, and he urged teachers to recall that "evil in the past has been wrought in other fields by overorganization."[11]

In addition, the new bureaucracy with its attendant curriculum and mandatory education requirements had encouraged mediocrity. Pritchett was not totally against universal education; he simply felt that greater attention needed to be paid to its consequences. "If all the children of a nation are to be educated--as they certainly should be--no other plan can be adopted than that of extensive organization. The system involves, however, certain inherent dangers which we should frankly recognize."[12]

The expansion of the schools had led to a great diversity of function. As the schools took on more and more tasks previously performed outside of educational institutions, they became increasingly superficial. The schools had lost sight of what could be accomplished within their boundaries. Through what Pritchett characterized as the "exaggerated enrichment" of the curriculum, students had come to believe that a superficial knowledge of many things replaced a true education. Most important, such an approach gave students "the impression" that they could solve their problems in life and in the country "by the same superficial processes" that had been learned in school.[13]

The crisis was greatest in the high schools and in higher education where expansion had been most dramatic during the postwar period. Such growth resulted in a lack of thorough teaching and learning on many levels. Pritchett was particularly disparaging about the trend toward vocational studies within the high schools. "The notion that trade school training could be made a part of general high school work has served to make soft and flabby the general conception of our people as to what kind of skill and energy are needed for the prosecution of an honorable trade."[14] Pritchett felt that the movement of vocational studies into the high schools had done a great disservice to the crafts and led adolescents to unrealistic expectations of what they could do with such a diploma.[15] He stated his position most unequivocally:

> It is not too much to say that the vocational training offered in the high schools has so little of the sharp accurate responsibility of the well-trained technician, and is so poorly related to the facts and circumstances of these vocations, that it is in great measure an educational farce. The teaching of vocations in the high schools is a mistake. These vocations should be taught through trade schools in which the whole spirit and technique of the training partakes of the accuracy, the sharpness, and the skill that alone can give them significance.[16]

According to Pritchett this move to high school vocational training had a devastating effect on labor within the United States. It created a hardship for boys who could not begin to learn a trade until the age of 18 and for the crafts which needed to wait before they could begin an adequate training program.[17]

This dilution of the curriculum had led to a general weakening of intellectual discipline in American society. The schools were no longer able to perform their primary educational functions. The schools had taken on the added responsibilities which heretofore had been in the province of the family. Not only were they inadequately performing their new tasks, but they were also failing to perform their traditional tasks of providing a good basic education.[18]

Most important, all of this had led to an exorbitant increase in the cost of public education. According to one study, carried out by the American Council on Education (ACE) and funded in part by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the cost of public education rose from $500 million in 1910 to $1,200 million by 1920. At the same time that expenditures were increasing in absolute numbers, the percentage of absolute cost paid by the federal and state governments was decreasing. The only area of education which showed a substantial increase in state and federal support was higher education, with a slight increase in the cost of educational administration. As a result, local governments saw their percentage costs increase and were being forced to increase their indebtedness in order to finance education. While the ACE report itself called for greater funding for education as a solution to financial problems facing the nation's education systems, Pritchett drew other conclusions.[19]

Drawing on the data from this study, Pritchett voiced his concern with the heavy tax burden emerging from this growth. He saw the increase in cost as a symptom of a general malaise and felt that the situation would change if the schools returned to an emphasis on "fundamentals."[20] He was not alone in his concern. Pritchett felt that the only way to lessen expenditures was to curtail the functions of the school. Part of the problem lay in fundamental disagreements over the role and purpose of the school. Should children learn a little about everything or learn how to learn? Pritchett strongly emphasized the latter position. Children did need to learn some basics. These included elementary mathematics, government, and knowledge of one's "rights and obligations as a citizen." Education at all levels should emphasize thorough mastery of whatever material was being studied.[21]

Fundamentals most emphatically did not include the acquisition of knowledge. Since education was a form of "intellectual discipline" it included the ability "to bend the mind to a given problem."[22] Since the schools could not be expected to provide everything, limits on what could be accomplished needed to be set.

PRITCHETT'S PROPOSALS

Pritchett advocated no less than a total restructuring of the educational system. Vocational instruction needed to be routed back to the trade schools where it belonged. The schools needed to go back to discipline and not teach "culture." In other words, the role of the school was not socialization--this should be gotten from the family and the environment--but rather the disciplining of the mind so that further study would be possible. For example, the study of music in the elementary schools added little to the cultural life of the nation and should be dropped. "This is a subject which can flourish only as it takes root in the cultural life of the people themselves."[23]

Public education had failed to prepare children for living. By foisting subject-oriented learning on young minds, the schools misrepresented the importance of continuously learning throughout one's life. Pritchett lamented the abandonment of the traditional 19th century curriculum which had emphasized disciplining the mind. This curriculum had been slowly eroding since the late 19th century. The final death knell had been Thorndike's research into the psychology of learning which had raised questions about the possibility of transferring knowledge of one subject to another and thus had, in Pritchett's mind, moved education from an emphasis on learning to one which advocated the study of specific content matter instead. Pritchett felt that this was an inappropriate response to the problems of the traditional curriculum and that the new approach to curriculum neglected the process of learning and ultimately the importance of learning throughout the lifetime. He maintained that a further shift toward lifelong learning was essential.

But this presented an additional problem. If the focus of children's education was to be on the process of learning, how was society to encourage a national culture? Pritchett believed that other institutions could aid in helping to develop the "cultural life of the nation," and the burden on the public schools would be lessened. If children's education was such a failure, it was because the schools could not overcome the environment. The environment itself therefore had to be made more educative. In terms of proposed Carnegie activities, these concerns could be translated into three related areas of concentration: the arts, local community projects, and adult education.

Pritchett was not completely rejecting the contemporary reforms of the educational system–he was merely pushing some of them forward for adult use. Adults, as fully functioning members of society, would not incur the enormous debt that children did in their pursuit of education. Adult education became, in effect, both the embodiment of, and the answer to, progressive reforms. It would include all learning outside of an institutional framework. The education of adults would move into the vacuum created by the limiting of public and university education. Elementary education would be organized around the basic knowledge needed to function within a democracy. These would include English, math, and citizenship. The high school would continue this emphasis, fostering the ability to think and to learn rather than specific content areas. Vocational training would take place in technical institutes and through apprenticeships, and the universities would serve as the training ground of the professions. Once settled into a life pursuit, the adult would be free to pursue knowledge. This then became the function of adult education.

The role of the Carnegie Corporation was to encourage experimentation. Adopting the outlook of progressive education--that education was lifelong and took place under many different circumstances--the first task was to identify those aspects of life's experiences which were indeed educative. The second step would be to decide what methods worked best in encouraging such learning. The third would be to encourage more experimentation and the development of model projects. Such an approach would identify educational experiences well outside of the traditional purview of the school. Individuals would regain control over their own learning. The role of the Foundation in such a situation was to select, and then aid, the exceptional individual with vision who would be able to implement this truly radical change in the educational system.

One important benefit of such an approach would be the reconsideration of the local community as the primary educative agency within society. From the Carnegie perspective, understanding the nature of experience and how individuals learn from particular types of educational events was closely connected with the goal of returning the locus of control over education to the local community. Since "our education is the product of all our experiences . . . ,"[24] it was important to encourage those kinds of experiences which would have the greatest values. From the Carnegie perspective, communities were an important educative agency which had not been previously utilized. "We have gone far enough to realize that it is the community which is the real unit with which we have to deal and not the type of study in which the individual may be interested."[25] Thus, projects with a distinctly local cast were often funded. These included studies of adult education in rural communities, local drama leagues, and town self-surveys. Local councils of adult education such as those in Buffalo, Cleveland, and Brooklyn were also considered to be models and were funded accordingly.[26]

ADULT LEARNING

Underlying the Carnegie support of adult education was the basic belief that adults would be better able than children to manage and synthesize new areas of study to which they were exposed. Even those with seemingly quite different approaches to education and its meaning agreed that adults' ability to learn was significantly different from that of children. This belief was predicated on the notion that true learning came from experience.[27]

Contemporary trends in schooling had turned this idea on its head. Traditionally, learning had been in the province of adults; only in modern times had it been made the prerogative of children. The traditional view had held that the more experienced adult mind was better able to assimilate and understand "truth." It was assumed that this truth would reach

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children and adolescents through the environment. The new approach to learning portrayed knowledge as a seed which could be planted in young minds and would grow over time. This psychology of learning seemed to be inappropriate to many who advocated adult education.[28]

According to the Carnegie leaders' psychology of learning, adolescents and children were unable to synthesize and thus make sense of the curriculum. Adults, on the other hand, were better able to understand and move beyond the sometimes arbitrary divisions of the curriculum.[29] This ability to synthesize was really the fusion of learning with the experience of living to form a unity, an experience of which the child was incapable.[30] Thus the key to learning, both the adult's and the child's, lay in individual experience. Only adults, however, had the depth of experience necessary to fully deal with all aspects of learning.

Such a discussion boiled down to the argument that only adults could gain from a study of liberal education. For this reason, the true purpose of adult education was not remediation, but rather the prevention of "adult starvation."[31] The growth of leisure time was perceived as allowing for the possibility of adult education. Whereas previously the structure of work had not allowed most adults the opportunity to overcome the obstacles in the way of learning, the increase in leisure time had brought about an unprecedented possibility. "By adult education we shall in the end create a lay public with a sense of greatness and our science and art will rise to heights hitherto unattainable."[32]

While the process of uniting experience and knowledge was unclear, individuals with quite different points of view could unite under the banner of promoting this liberal form of adult education. For Lindeman, a liberal was a relativist. "The liberal . . . , views life in terms of change, flux, evolution; to him all goals, ends, and values are relative. . . . His interest therefore centers upon means rather than ends."[33] Yet, inevitably, such an approach focused on method rather than on content, and in so doing, reverted to the criticisms leveled at progressive education in the first place. In addition, the debate created a tension within the field that has still not been resolved.

CONCLUSION

This has been an admittedly cursory attempt to examine some of the underlying issues affecting the Carnegie Corporation's interest in adult education. By focusing on the inherent critique of children's education, it is hoped that some of the misconceptions concerning the rise of the AAAE can be clarified. While the connections are not completely clear at this point, it is important to understand that the adult education movement did not arise because of reasons relating to the development of a field of practice, but rather as a reaction to and a criticism of the current state of public and university education. We cannot understand the meaning of adult education if we do not see its rise as intimately connected to the concerns of children's education. By concentrating on the adult, the Carnegie Corporation hoped to circumvent the problems of children's education.

Adult education would serve as a creative outlet for those workers who were consigned to the boredom of industrial and technological repetition. No one would be refused the opportunity to learn; yet it would also serve as a reminder that, as Russell stated, "Most doors are closed."[34] The education offered self-improvement, inner growth, and further understanding, not social mobility.

As time would show, some of the goals of adult education as it emerged were quite clearly contradictory. They represented the Carnegie attempt to synthesize its individualistic philosophy with technological innovation and progressive reform. Emphasis on the individual effort and cooperative action on the local level were part of an effort to counter the growth of governmental bureaucracy. The goals of progressive education remained constant, but they were transposed onto the education of adults, an arena that would be both more conducive to true learning and far cheaper.

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THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT: THE DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL, 1924-1933

John R. Rachal

It is almost a tautology to state that libraries have always been centers of adult education. It has been true of ancient, medieval, and American colonial libraries no less than modern ones. In fact, it may even be more true of earlier libraries than modern ones in that earlier libraries tended to serve a more adult, often scholarly, clientele. The term "adult education" itself was not used, but the fact that adult education, through reading and scholarship, was a major library function throughout the long history of libraries is beyond argument.

Yet, the point at which American libraries and specifically the professional organization of American librarians, the American Library Association, became "officially" involved in adult education--designated as such--can be quite clearly pinpointed: the first week of July 1924. Knowles (1980) has observed that the term "adult education" was virtually unheard of in the United States prior to 1924, and, in apparent confirmation, the Bulletin of the American Library Association has no references to adult education in the 1923 volume but no less than eight in the 1924 volume. In fact, however, as Monroe (1963) has noted, Carl Milam had used the term as early as 1920 in the Library Journal, and Charles Eliot, president of Harvard, had used it in 1921 in the Bulletin of the ALA. Such exceptional early uses, however, suggest the essential truth of Knowles' assertion.

This paper examines both the role of the American Library Association (ALA) from 1924 to 1933 in what had come to be called "adult education" and the interaction and cross-fertilization of influences between the ALA and the American Association of Adult Education (AAAE). Integral to the overall thesis is the view that the two groups saw cultural and intellectual growth--or at least "the diffusion of knowledge," in William Learned's (1924) phrase--both as ends in themselves and as a necessary bulwark against antidemocratic impulses.

At the 1924 ALA Conference in Saratoga Springs, New York, Judson T. Jennings in his President's Address observed that "the third enterprise that I think we should undertake is an active participation in the movement for adult education" (1924, p. 153). A significant portion of this speech was devoted to adult education. Denying that "formal classes will ever reach large numbers of adults," Jennings declaimed that "the library is logically ordained as the direct and primary agency for adult education" since "the fundamental tool of education is the book." We must, he continued, persuade students that "it [education] is something that lasts through life" and that "the librarian, a specialist in books," should "become the chief factor and agent in adult education" (pp. 153-154).

In the third general session, devoted to the topic "The Library and Adult Education," Alexander Meiklejohn (1924), a forceful advocate of liberal adult education, continued Jennings' theme. He exhorted librarians to be the promoters of lifelong learning since they are at "the strategic point":

> . . . [T]he most striking and universal characteristic of the graduate of the American College, is that he does not read books. He has read his books. He has been educated. . . . In my opinion that [reading] is the only fundamental method of instruction; I should, of course, add discussion, but I should make even that secondary. (p. 184)

The ALA Executive Board was already persuaded. Due to a lack of attention to the "general reader . . . pursu[ing] a serious course of study either for a definite purpose or to enlarge his general education . . . and also because of the general public interest in the present world movement for adult education" (Adult Education Commission, 1924, p. 123), the Board appointed a Commission on the Library and Adult Education at the 1924 Conference, with ALA President Jennings as chairman of a seven-person committee. Its charge was "to study the adult education movement and the work of libraries for adults and for older boys and girls out of school, and to report its findings and recommendations to the Council" (Adult Education Commission, 1924, p. 123). The Commission met three times at Saratoga and received $18,000 from the Carnegie Corporation for its work and final report to be presented in 1926.

The ALA's interest did not occur *ex nihilo*. Although pre-1924 usage of the term "adult education" was rare, the education of adult immigrants had been underway for some time and had become increasingly organized. The National Education Association established a Department of Adult Education in 1924, the same year the Commission formed. Jennings (1924) referred to the British Adult Education Committee, and an editor of the Bulletin of the

ALA in 1924 noted "at home and abroad, attention is being directed to adult education from every angle" (Editor, p. 114). The editor cited the World Association for Adult Education, the Workers' Educational Association, the Workers' Educational Bureau of America, and the Adult Education Association, Inc., as special adult education organizations, in addition to broader organizations such as the American Federation of Labor, the National University Extension Association, and the National Conference of Social Work, all of which devoted part of their annual programs to the subject. Librarians themselves had undertaken adult education activities without the label as early as 1920, including Americanization of the foreign born, vocational learning, literacy training, and guided reading, as contributors to a symposium in the Library Journal (1924) were quick to point out. Such activities, and the resulting discussion and controversy, were among the early rumblings which heralded the general session on adult education at the 1924 ALA Conference. Despite such occasional library involvement, the Bulletin editor feared that libraries would be relegated to a peripheral role in adult education and "wonder[ed] whether our librarians are going to take a position of leadership in it now, or wait for others, possibly not so responsibly placed, to direct a way in which we merely follow" (Editor, 1924, p. 114). Carnegie financial support, through the keen interest of the Corporation's new president, Frederick Keppel, stimulated ALA interest and allowed it to take a leadership role.

To many concerned with adult education in the twenties, including librarians, the term itself connoted (if not denoted) intellectual growth and cultural enlightenment, either as their own ends or as servants in the cause of democracy. William Learned, staff member of the Carnegie Foundation and author of the seminal book The American Public Library and the Diffusion of Knowledge (1924), had prophesied that the city library had the potential to "be an institution of astonishing power--a genuine community university bringing intelligence systematically and persuasively to bear on all adult affairs." If properly organized nationwide, "it would immediately take its place as the chief instrument of our common intellectual and cultural progress" (p. 56). Such themes naturally resonated with many librarians, all the more when books and reading were the vehicles to such lofty goals, as Meiklejohn had told them. Meiklejohn had also tapped the education and democracy theme, enunciated by Dewey eight years earlier in Democracy and

Education and by Thomas Jefferson well before that. Meiklejohn's (1924) speech at the 1924 ALA Conference had fittingly fallen on July 4th, and he told them:

> Democracy is education. . . . In so far as we can educate the people, in so far as we can bring people to understanding of themselves and of their world we can have a democracy. In so far as we cannot do that we have got to have control by the few. (p. 183)

This Jeffersonian echo of an educated and even enlightened populace as the only sure guardian of democratic government was remarkably persistent and tenacious in the twenties. The depredations of the Kaiser had been frightening, and so the Great War had been fought, in Wilson's phrase, "to make the world safe for democracy" (despite an amazing abrogation of American civil liberties during the War). If that were not enough, the close of the War was followed by a major red scare, and, once again, democracy seemed imperiled. Education, and particularly adult education, became in part an ideological weapon--a good in itself, but also a good soldier in the defense of democratic values. Jennings (1925) quoted the normally taciturn candidate Calvin Coolidge's 1924 remark, "we cannot abandon our education at the school house door; we must keep it up through life," as he warmed to his theme at the 1925 ALA Conference: "The success of a democracy depends upon an educated and intelligent citizenship" (pp. 121-122).

Within a short time the view that "adult education" and "democracy" were symbiotically linked had become sufficiently commonplace as to suggest a fixed orthodoxy. Ontario Minister of Education, Canon Cody (1927), in a welcoming speech to the annual ALA conference, reiterated the theme:

> The education of the adult must play a great and growing part in any democracy. . . . If our educational system directly or indirectly made no provision for the education of the adult, it would be in large measure defective. (p. 262)

A year later Charles Compton (1928), one of numerous librarian contributors to the Journal of Adult Education (JAE), recommended Everett Dean Martin's The Meaning of a Liberal Education to his audience and offered, in his peroration to a long speech, three rhetorical questions: "What is the outlook for adult education in the library? . . . What is the outlook for the library? . . . What is the outlook for democracy?" (p. 326). Nor had the theme abated by the coming of the Depression: John Finley (1931), associate editor of the

New York Times, averred in the pages of JAE that "adult education today--insurance through life against intellectual unemployment--is the hope of a continuing democracy" (p. 334). And AAAE President James Russell, who collected quotes on adult education, shared two of the most graphic: "The next battle in the campaign of democracy is going to rage around the question of the possibility and advisability of general education for the majority of grown-ups" and, even more tersely, "Democracy can last on just one condition: getting everybody educated" (Cartwright, 1931, p. 363).

The librarian's role in adult education was, and remained, ill-defined, and librarians' responses ranged from skeptical to enthusiastic. But at least one new role was attributable to the adult education movement: the readers' adviser, "a new sort of public servant," said Charles Belden (1926, p. 275), president of ALA in 1925-26, vice-president of AAAE in 1930-31, and member of the first editorial board of JAE in 1929. Belden saw the library as "everyman's university"; Canon Cody (1927, p. 262), called it "a great popular university." (Alvin S. Johnson, 1938, extended that theme with his book, The Public Library: A People's University.) Morse Cartwright (1927), executive director of AAAE and co-editor of JAE, highlighted the connection between the library and adult education in his address to the annual ALA Conference, when he declared that the library was "the natural, ordained-by-Providence-and-Andrew-Carnegie educational guidance agency for the adults of a community" (p. 321).

This centrality of the library role in adult education did not, however, receive universal approbation among librarians. Presumably the readers' advisers, who owed their jobs to the adult education movement, were content. After four years of library involvement in adult education, Mary Frankhausen (1928) noted in allegorical prose:

> Some there were who turned aside and refused to admit him [the new infant, adult education] to the family circle, claiming that he was a changeling, a product of reincarnation, an old man long familiar to them, by some strange process of library science given new birth. (p. 490)

A year later, Charles Compton, as chair of the ALA Activities Committee, invited ALA members to comment on the whole range of Association activities. Several responses were published in the Report of the Activities Committee (1930) with names deleted, and some were clearly hostile toward adult education. One correspondent stated that "both the library training and the adult education activities are 'through' and should be discontinued" (p. 664). Another lamented the ALA's allegedly excessive dependence on external funding, especially the Carnegie Corporation: "The tendency in accepting such gifts is to follow the wish of the donor as evidenced in this widespread study on adult education" (p. 665). Another opined the lack of an American focus: "Our so-called professional education requirements and our adult education movement are based upon an old English culture to the neglect of our American cultural requirements, so a tremendous effort has so far brought forth negligible results" (p. 674), while a fourth wished for a "respectable" (undefined) definition of adult education and regretted "the time now wasted in preparing lists of 'best books'" (p. 675). In contrast, however, two correspondents felt that the quarterly ALA periodical Adult Education and the Library (begun in 1925 and incorporated in 1931 into the Bulletin) was "extremely valuable" and "very helpful and stimulating" (p. 615), while a third correspondent said that "the outstanding work . . . is your program for adult education" (p. 616). The Activities Committee commented that "the adult education program of the ALA has caused a great deal of discussion and much difference of opinion . . . but show[s] a preponderance of favorable opinion" (p. 615), only to observe 44 pages later that "the members of the Association apparently are pretty evenly divided as to the value of the adult education program to the ALA" (p. 659).

Central to the conflicting attitudes was the ambiguity of the term "adult education" itself. Adult education advocates were often seeking legitimacy for the term, occasionally even despairing over its use themselves, while devoutly advocating adult education activities. Jennie Flexner, readers' adviser at the New York Public Library and staunch adult education proponent, regretted the use of the term because of its remedial and reform implications, preferring to think of education as growth (Adult Education Round Table, 1934). Philip Youtz (1929) of the People's Institute in New York was even more dogmatic and defensive. Discussing in the JAE the Reader's Round Table, a collaboration between the Institute and the New York Public Libraries, he asserted:

> There is still a superstition that adult education is intended for the uneducated. . . . The only people who can or want to be educated are those who are already educated. . . . The purpose of adult education is to

> prevent adult starvation, not to compensate for lack of schooling in youth, a thing which is quite impossible and hence futile. (p. 162)

Even without the remedial connotations, honest disagreement abounded over what adult education meant and over the appropriateness of library involvement in various activities. By 1930 the Reading With a Purpose program had come under considerable fire, and many librarians sniffed at the idea of the library being a forum for discussion groups, as Frederick Keppel of the Carnegie Foundation had urged since 1926. Even the role of the readers' adviser could be questioned if the adviser was viewed as "telling" people what to read. And finally, skeptics argued that "adult education" was simply a faddish and unsatisfactory label for what had been going on for years. In short, library adult education was criticized for being too ambiguous, too gimmicky, too commercial, too activist, too demeaning, and too expensive.

In 1925 the ALA's Commission on the Library and Adult Education issued its Provisional Report, and in 1926 it published Libraries and Adult Education, the fifth in the Carnegie-supported Studies in Adult Education series. It viewed the library role in adult education to be threefold: (a) Consulting and advisory service to individual learners, (b) providing information about adult education opportunities outside the library, and (c) supplying books and other printed materials for other organizations' adult education activities. Supplementary recommendations dealt with the need for concerted effort among librarians and educators to interest the general populace in reading and books; the need for more "'humanized,' readable books" (1926, p. 10); better coordination of library adult education services; larger and better central lending collections; and adequate funding to meet these needs. The Commission, acknowledging the vagueness of the term "adult education," stated that it was not merely Americanization, vocational training, or literacy work, but rather it was based on "the great truth that education is a lifelong process" and that "adult education is a spiritual ideal, taking form in a practical purpose" (p. 13). The Commission also recommended, among other things, the establishment of a permanent ALA Adult Education Board, an "experimental study" of adult reading habits, the hastening of publication of new courses in the Reading With a Purpose series, and "most important, . . . a program of education that will arouse librarians, library trustees, educational authorities, and appropriating bodies to the possibilities of the library as an agent in adult education" (p. 107).

While many of the Commission's findings and recommendations were modest and uncontroversial, the last two were grating to the skeptics, as evidenced by their letters to Compton in 1929. The ALA had begun to publish the Reading With a Purpose courses in 1925, with an initial grant of $9,000 from the Carnegie Corporation. Each "course" was a short volume introducing a specific subject with specifically recommended books and commentary on that subject. The first one was Biology, soon followed by English Literature, Alexander Meiklejohn's Philosophy, and Everett Martin's Psychology. The series offered a new issue almost once a month, and libraries were encouraged to subscribe in quantity. By 1928 a half-million courses had been sold (with another quarter-million by the end of 1930), and by 1931 a total of 54 courses had been prepared. Other topics included foreign languages, classics, good English, history, mental hygiene, and journalism. In 1929 the series began to include "practical" courses, and by October 1931 the Universal Braille Institute of America had published the entire series in Braille.

These courses were widely advertised and had a considerable popularity but they were nettlesome to some of Compton's correspondents. One complained:

> [T]he issue of more of the superficial Reading With a Purpose courses should be stopped. They are doing more harm than good to the cause of librarianship . . . [and libraries] are beginning to feel a little foolish about continuing to peddle them. Of course they sell, in huge quantities. . . . (Activities Committee, 1930, pp. 664-665)

An equally common complaint, however, was that the courses were too "academic" or "difficult." Others noted wide variations in quality among the courses. The complaints, perhaps coupled with a Depression frugality, apparently were effective; ALA terminated its funding for the program in 1930 (Financial Reports, 1930; 1931).

The Commission's last and "most important" recommendation--"a program of education that will arouse librarians . . . to the possibilities of the library as an agent of adult education" (1926, p. 107)--generally aroused the ire of those who tended to see adult education as an imposition, a fad, or social work. When Canon Cody (1927), a nonlibrarian himself, had told the first general session at the annual ALA Conference that the librarian was no longer "the jealous guardian of sacred treasures almost too sacred to be touched by the hand of the vulgar" but rather "the enthusiast inflamed with missionary zeal" (p. 262) to get those treasures into the hands and minds of the public, the critics' muttering must have been audible. In its very first issue, the JAE contained an article with the provocative title, "Is Adult Education a Fad? A Symposium on Recent Trends in Librarianship." The article was prompted by a letter in the December 15, 1928 Library Journal by one of the leading skeptics, John Cotton Dana, librarian of the Newark Public Library. The JAE reprinted Dana's letter and solicited the views of other librarians. Dana had observed that "we librarians have been much concerned over a new phrase 'adult education.' I regret to say we have been moved to worship the phrase." Critical of the missionary zeal mentality, Dana lambasted the "quasi-religious frenzy" of the "whole adult education fad" and noted that librarians had neither the time nor the funds to become guides or teachers ("Symposium," 1929, pp. 57-58). Predictably enough, the JAE editors found several librarians with more congenial views.

With the 1926 publication of Libraries and Adult Education, the ALA disbanded the Commission and established a permanent Board on the Library and Adult Education to continue the study of this area, to publish bulletins, to promote experiments, to study reading habits, and to establish cooperative relations with other agencies. The first official recognition from the American Association of Adult Education came when its executive director, Morse Cartwright, addressed the ALA Round Table on Adult Education at the 1927 Conference on the topic, "Community Organization in Adult Education." The relations between the organizations were warm and cordial because of, or perhaps despite, their common interests. A year later in his second Annual Report, Cartwright praised

> the participation of the libraries in adult education activity [which] forms a most important section of the American adult education movement. It has been a pleasure to note a steady increase in the already great interest manifested by the librarians on earlier occasions . . . . The Association's [AAAE] contacts with all of this work have been close, stimulating, highly agreeable, and mutually helpful. (Board on the Library and Adult Education, 1928, p. 198)

The two-year old Board on the Library and Adult Education (1928) reciprocated in its report to the Council of the ALA with a laudatory section devoted exclusively to the AAAE:

> This report would be incomplete without a reference to the American Association for Adult Education and the consideration it has consistently given American libraries since the beginning. . . . This organization has brought together many minds which have a common interest in the development of adult education. It is rarely that so many men and women of ability give the benefit of their efforts to an association which requires time outside their usual activities. . . . Librarians themselves could not have labored more effectively for a greater appreciation of the possibilities of books, reading, and library service in the educational advancement of the country. (pp. 197-198)

In the third Annual Report, Cartwright (1929) noted in the JAE that "in continuation of the Association's policy of close cooperation with the American Library Association" (p. 338), the two organizations had collaborated on Gray and Munroe's The Reading Interests and Habits of Adults (1929). Like the previous title in the Studies in Adult Education series, Libraries and Adult Education, the green, hardback cover was embossed with the title and an Aladdin-style lamp, a common symbol in the pages of the JAE. The interest in reading habits was very much in step with the role of the JAE, "the open forum of the AAAE which invites constructive criticism of its aims and methods of assisting adult learners in securing opportunity for advancement in character, culture, citizenship, and vocational efficiency" in the words of AAAE President James Russell (1929, p. 82).

In the fifth Annual Report, Cartwright (1931) observed that "close cooperation with library organizations and with the American Library Association in particular has been a marked feature of the Association's program during the five years of its existence" (p. 375). He noted when he attended the ALA's Board on the Library and Adult Education Conference in 1930, "steps were taken toward correlating [the library program] more closely with the program of this association" (p. 375). For his part, F. K. W. Drury (1931), Executive Assistant in Adult Education for the ALA, reported on "close contact" with AAAE, "both privately and in its annual conferences and in its Journal of Adult Education" (p. 34). The "close contact" was all the more natural since Cartwright, as Stubblefield (1988) has noted, had come to the Carnegie Corporation in 1924 and had served as Keppel's Administrative assistant. Thus, there was conviction mixed with personal appreciation in Cartwright's (1928) encomium to Carnegie and Keppel as the two men to whom "directly, [AAAE] owes its inception" (p. 93). The link between books, reading, and libraries on the one hand, and adult education on the other, was profoundly important to Cartwright's advocacy of a liberal education, and the linkage was perhaps no more clearly stated than in his assertion that "indirectly, the American Association [AAAE] owes its foundation to the library movement in the United States" (p. 93).

The two organizations' ties were not only philosophical, they were economic. A joint ALA-AAAE committee in 1930 made recommendations (subsequently approved) to expend $10,000 on four separate projects. The Carnegie Corporation, which approved the expenditures, was interested in both libraries and adult education as means "to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States," as promulgated in the Corporation's Charter (Learned, 1924, p. 3). Keppel was an active participant in the activities of both organizations, an occasional contributor to both the JAE and the Bulletin of the American Library Association, and the author of Education for Adults and Other Essays (1926). Total Carnegie income to the AAAE for fiscal year 1928 exceeded $54,000, or all but $2,246.27 of the total AAAE income (Cartwright, 1929). Exclusive of endowments, Carnegie income to ALA for calendar year 1928 was $100,000 (Financial Reports, 1929). Until Keppel's retirement as president in 1941, the Carnegie Corporation was something like a generous grandfather to two siblings of similar interests and disposition.

It is, of course, in the journals of the two organizations where their alliance is most visible. The ALA celebrated its silver anniversary in 1926, the year AAAE was born, and it was in the 20th year of its Bulletin. The Bulletin and the ALA's attention to adult education--the 1924 Commission, the 1926 Board, the quarterly Adult Education and the Library, the Adult Education Round Table at the conferences, the Reading With a Purpose Program, the Readers' Adviser and other services, and, in general, an emphasis on adult education so widespread that it provoked some hostility--was reciprocated by AAAE from the beginning and by its Journal in 1929. Charles Belden was a member of the 1924 ALA Commission on the Library and Adult Education, ALA president in 1925-26, a frequent advocate of adult education at ALA conferences, and thus an obvious choice as one of the five members of JAE's original Editorial Board. Another librarian, Linda Eastman of the Cleveland Public Library, was an associate editor.

But it is more in the theme and tenor of the early JAE articles and the frequency of librarian contributions that the linkage of adult education, the library, an informed citizenry, and democratic ideals is most visible. Besides the previously mentioned article "Is Adult Education a Fad? A Symposium on Recent Trends in Librarianship" in JAE's first issue, that same issue contained "What They Read" by Ruth Munroe, co-author of the ALA-AAAE sponsored book, The Reading Interests and Habits of Adults. The democracy and liberty theme was the subject of Everett Martin's "Liberating Liberty" and Glenn Frank's "On the Firing Line of Democracy." The first issue--and subsequent issues--announced ALA meetings and reviewed several significant books: An Outline of Aesthetics (authored by People's Institute lecturers), Mortimer Adler's Dialectic, and The American Renaissance, along with a book on vocational education and the Danish Folk School. The second issue contained Emma Felsenthal's "First Books in Many Subjects," an ALA-sponsored reading list compiled under the supervision of the ALA Board on the Library and Adult Education. This list of "allegedly readable books," in the cautious words of the JAE editors, was an annotated list covering topics from astronomy, baseball, and carpentry to U.S. history, weather, and zoology. The second issue also contained an article subtitled "Experimenting with the Library as an Education Center." In sum, the 1929 volume of the JAE contained five articles and a book review by librarians or about libraries in its second issue, in addition to the Symposium article of seven librarians in the first issue. The second volume year contained five more articles. Not surprisingly, the editors of the ALA Bulletin in 1931 described the JAE as "a very meaty periodical" and "an important aid to the librarian interested in adult education" with "special articles on library work and problems [which] make the appeal doubly important" (Selected References, 1931, p. 169). In 1933 Jennie Flexner chastised librarians for "not reading the Journal of Adult Education and *other* [emphasis added] library literature" (Adult Education Round Table, 1933, p. 621).

Following a "background" period beginning around 1920, the ten years from 1924 through 1933 mark a first phase of "formal" library adult education in the United States. Despite its novelty and the accompanying skepticism among many librarians, library adult education started forcefully in 1924 and sustained its momentum until the early 1930s when ALA emphasis on adult education subsided somewhat. Reports of the ALA show that adult education disbursements actually peaked in 1928 at $23,680, and did not begin a major slide until 1931; however, they were no longer listed in 1933 (Financial Reports, 1929-1935). In 1934 a renewal began (Monroe, 1963) with the appointment of John M. Chancellor as ALA Assistant in Adult Education, the revival of the ALA Reader's Round Table, Cartwright's ten-year review of adult education which first appeared in 1934 and gave a central role to libraries, and a general increase in library adult education publications, including a chapter in the first Handbook of Adult Education. Library adult education continued to wax and wane although it was generally on the "defensive" in the period 1920-1955, according to Monroe (1963), despite the "halcyon" years in the second half of the 1920s. But some of the themes, such as the library role in promoting a democratic ideal, and some of the controversies, such as what kinds of adult education were appropriate functions of a library, recurred in coming decades. However, it is important to stress that library and ALA interest in adult education was reciprocated by AAAE's interest in libraries as adult education agencies. Cartwright was not alone in seeing their role as central.

The librarians' formal and public embrace of adult education in 1924 and the alliance soon established between ALA and AAAE was so natural as to seem almost inevitable. Americanization of the foreign born, vocational education, and literacy work were taking place in some libraries before 1924, and, of course, such activities were major thrusts of adult educators--however labeled--outside the libraries. But the dominant themes of American adult education literature in the second half of the twenties were intellectual-cultural enrichment and social melioration. Social melioration encompassed Americanization, vocational education, and literacy, but both society and the individual were viewed as beneficiaries through an educated citizenry actively engaged in participative democracy. These themes were often tinctured with elements of moral uplift and evangelical fervor. Many--though certainly not all--librarians and adult educators could rally to such impulses. Few at this early stage would have identified themselves professionally as adult educators; rather, they were involved in different forms of adult education and committed to them in their variegated roles as librarians, adult education directors, institute directors, sociologists, physicists, literary editors, businessmen, clergymen, authors, and professors of Latin, English, history, psychology, education, and economics (all contributors to the first volume of JAE). Such a confluence of common interest, further solidified by Carnegie financial support, bound those librarians and others who were engaged in adult education--and, of course, the ALA and the AAAE--into a Gideon's army laden with trumpets and lamps. But unlike the Old Testament's Gideon, whose nocturnal victory over the Midianites was total, this modern army's campaign against ignorance and philistinism had some notable victories, but the final result was, and remains, inconclusive.

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A PRIMARY SOURCE FOR EVERETT DEAN MARTIN'S AGENDA FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Michael J. Day

Everett Dean Martin (1880-1941) is a problematic figure to examine. Though admired by many of his peers for his work in the area of adult education, Martin is often ignored or dismissed by theorists today. While the views of one of his contemporaries, Eduard Lindeman, take on a certain sacredness in the adult education literature, Martin's thought is often regarded with contempt. Either directly or indirectly adult education theorists frequently treat Martin as an embarrassment.

To date, examinations of Martin's beliefs regarding adult education are overly simplistic and overly personal. At times he is dismissed as a smug elitist who was fixated on classical studies for adults. This was not Martin's primary focus. Instead, Martin stressed self-reliance, discipline, and the examined life as the most important objectives of adult education. And, by emphasizing the formulation of personal values, Martin continued a strain of thought popularized by individuals such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and William James. But Martin was not sympathetic toward an agenda for adult education which solely stressed the immediate needs of learners. This paper describes Martin's treatment in the literature, provides a biographical sketch, emphasizing his years as a minister, and discusses his agenda for adult education as it directly related to his years as a minister.

TREATMENT IN THE LITERATURE

When Martin died in 1941 the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE) lost one of its more eloquent voices. By the 1940s Martin was viewed by some members of the AAAE as the principal architect of the association and author of its constitution.[1] Echoing these sentiments, Morse Cartwright, Executive Director of the AAAE from 1926 to 1949, considered Martin to be the "spiritual father" of the Association.[2] Martin was a prolific writer and lecturer and one of the major contributors to the Journal of Adult Education--mouthpiece of the AAAE.[3] Primarily due to his association with the AAAE, his guidance of the People's Institute in New York City, and his numerous publications, Martin was acknowledged by a number of individuals as a major spokesman for the emerging field of adult education in the United States.

Webster Cotton, in 1968, referred to Martin as "one of that small band of adult educators who effectively articulated the case for adult education in the period between the two world wars."[4] When Martin's The Meaning of a Liberal Education appeared in 1926, the President of the Carnegie Corporation proclaimed it as "the most important contribution to the understanding of adult education . . . thus far made in the United States."[5] In comparing The Meaning of a Liberal Education with Lindeman's The Meaning of Adult Education, also published in 1926, Evans Clark, in a piece for The New York Times Book Review, considered Martin's work, by far, the more brilliant of the two. According to Clark, Martin "painted one of the most attractive portraits of the educated man in the gallery of modern literature."[6] Yet today, while the influence of Lindeman is ever present in the writings of the field of adult education, few authors take notice of Martin.

In an attempt to identify "those figures in adult education who had made a significant contribution to the field," Morris Okun and L. J. Pristo (1979) surveyed members of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education.[7] The researchers reported that Lindeman ranked 11th among the twenty-five highest ranked contributors. Martin's name did not appear. The next year a study conducted by Michael Day and Bill McDermott examined the familiarity of advanced adult education graduate students with specific historic writings.[8] The 1926 publications by Martin and Lindeman, referred to earlier, were included in the study. While 65% of the 245 students queried were familiar with Lindeman's work, only 17% were familiar with Martin's, and a small 4% had read The Meaning of a Liberal Education. Martin was not even mentioned in the popular textbook on adult education authored by Gordon Darkenwald and Sharan Merriam in 1982.[9] Even historians of adult education such as C. Hartley Grattan and Malcolm Knowles hardly referred to Martin in their writings.[10]

At the 1987 Adult Education Research Conference in Laramie, Wyoming, Michael Day and Donald Seckinger criticized adult education theorists for their disregard of Martin.[11] The authors noted that Martin continued to be neglected by researchers, though he had clearly articulated a position regarding adult education during the 1920s and 1930s. Since the Laramie conference, two additional treatments of Martin have been published, one by David Stewart and the other by Harold Stubblefield. In *Adult Learning in America: Eduard Lindeman and His Agenda for Lifelong Education*, Stewart represented Martin as a rival with whom Lindeman had to contend.[12] In the few paragraphs devoted to Martin, Stewart dismissed the man as an annoying elitist.[13] But Stewart provided a more sympathetic view of Martin in his review of Stubblefield's book, *Towards a History of Adult Education in America*.[14] In the review, Stewart presented Martin as a paradoxical figure who "was a forceful and cogent speaker, having the ability to translate difficult subject matter into manageable and interesting forms."[15] Stewart also credited Stubblefield with helping to clarify Martin's relationship with Lindeman.[16]

Stubblefield's treatment of Martin was much more lengthy and certainly more thorough than Stewart's.[17] Though Martin was once again criticized for professing a narrow view of the purpose of adult education, Stubblefield recognized some of Martin's contributions to the area of adult education: his lifelong commitment to liberal education, his work as the Director of the People's Institute, and his emphasis on mental maturity.

But there remained a number of shortcomings in the depiction of Martin provided by Stubblefield. Like Stewart, he relied primarily on readily available writings and secondary sources for his interpretation of Martin's life and ideas. The sources cited in Stubblefield's section on Martin included five of Martin's books and a few of his essays. For his discussion of Martin's involvement with the People's Institute in New York City, Stubblefield depended heavily on the work of Robert Fisher.[18] A second shortcoming in his treatment of Martin was biographical. In Stubblefield's brief biographical sketch of Martin's life there were some mistakes, such as the year Martin departed the ministry.[19] Lastly, Stubblefield made some suggestions about Martin's life which were not supported. Without providing evidence to buttress his observations, Stubblefield implied that Martin's career in adult education *began* with the People's Institute;[20] he stated that Martin "*first* presented his theory of humanistic education for adults in 1920,"[21] and that in the thirties, Martin *began* to concentrate on "the problem of belief in the modern world."[22]

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Fortunately, materials regarding Martin's life are available. Collections are located at Cooper Union and the New York Public Library in New York

City, and at Scripps College in Claremont, California. The collections in New York City primarily cover Martin's work at the People's Institute (1917-1934). Accessible at Scripps College are a number of Martin's earlier papers and some files containing correspondence. Among the papers are some drafts of sermons and lectures given by Martin during his years as a minister, 1906-1915, as well as material from his years as a professor of social philosophy at Scripps. Also at Scripps, there is a rather interesting collection of letters written during the Fall of 1915--the period in which Martin formally left the ministry. An unpublished manuscript by Martin, believed to be his last, is also located in Claremont.[23] In addition to these collections, and Martin's numerous books and articles, researchers have access to nearly 150 works which Martin wrote while he was a featured columnist for the Des Moines Register and Leader during the years 1914-1915. A number of Martin's sermons and lectures were also featured in this newspaper.

Unfortunately, even after consulting all the above sources, the researcher is presented with little information on Martin prior to 1906. Martin was born in Jacksonville, Illinois, on July 5, 1880. He was the oldest of at least six children. Martin's mother (Mollie), it seems, corresponded with him quite frequently; his father (Bunker E.) was a tobacconist who died of tuberculosis sometime before 1915. At the age of twenty-four Martin graduated 'Cum Laude' from Illinois College, in Jacksonville, where he also delivered the Salutatory Address, "College Responsibility."[24] Shortly thereafter he attended the McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago. In 1907 he married Esther W. Kirk, also from Jacksonville, and they had three daughters: Mary, Margaret, and Elizabeth. From 1906 to 1915 Martin served as a minister in Illinois and Iowa; 1906-08, First Congregational Church, Lombard, Ill.; 1908-10, People's Church, Dixon, Ill.; 1911-15, the First Unitarian Church, Des Moines, Iowa. While serving as a minister, Martin gained a regional and national reputation as a thinker and orator; in 1914 he also began writing columns for the Des Moines Register and Leader. Then the threads of success began to unravel.

The year 1915 was cataclysmic for this highly respected minister. Martin left Des Moines and found work as an editorial writer on the New York Globe. Complications stemming from the divorce of his first wife caused Martin to leave the ministry under a cloud of scandal and lose his job on the Globe. While in New York he married Persis E. Rowell and they had a son, Everett Eastman. The strain of this tumultuous year took its toll, setting a pattern of ill health which would culminate in his early death.

By the following year calm had returned to Martin's life, and he began an extremely satisfying and noteworthy relationship with the People's Institute in New York City. He quickly endeared himself to the Institute through his lectures on modern psychology. In November 1917 he was appointed Assistant to the Acting Director and Secretary of the Institute.

As Director of the People's Institute from 1922 to its closing in 1934, Everett Dean Martin emerged as a major educational figure and social critic. Through activities such as free public lectures from the podium of the Great Hall of Cooper Union, Martin preached his secular gospel of adult education, often before crowds of over 1,000 people. Martin's popular lectures began reaching even larger audiences in 1920 when The Behavior of Crowds was published. Within the next fifteen years eight more books appeared, including The Mystery of Religion (1924), The Meaning of a Liberal Education (1926), Liberty (1930), The Conflict of the Individual and the Mass (1932), and Farewell to Revolution (1935). During this time Martin also established a lasting relationship with Frederick Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation and became a key figure in the Corporation's plans for adult education. This success would last for over a decade giving Martin a well-deserved respite from the preceding years.

Martin's final years were filled with great insecurity precipitated by the closing of the People's Institute and escalating national and international unrest and hardship; this insecurity was softened, though, by a third marriage to Daphne Crane Drake in 1931. In 1936, amidst growing concern over his health and challenged by an offer from Claremont Colleges in Southern California, Martin resigned his makeshift position as Director of the Department of Social Philosophy at Cooper Union and headed west. This venture would fall far short of expectations though, and with continued failing health, Martin suffered a fatal heart attack in May, 1941.

Minister and Teacher

A serious omission in earlier treatments of Martin is the complete disregard of his years as a minister. Martin's views regarding education developed at the pulpit, not the podium. His interest in the education of adults did not originate at the People's Institute, as some writers have implied.

It was already well-developed in January of 1911 when Martin accepted the pastoral position at the First Unitarian Church in Des Moines, Iowa.

One item in the Scripps Collection which attests to Martin's thinking as far back as 1906, the year he accepted his first ministerial assignment, is his Bible. On January 9, 1906 Martin inscribed the following thoughts on the inside leaf of this book:

> My creed: I believe in an ever present, imminent God, on whom all things depend from moment to moment. Who working through natural, psychic and moral laws is present in every phenomenon ever working toward perfection in accord with a great plan which I can but half guess, but in which I feel that I as a man have my small part to perform. I am inspired to labor to make this world a little better for my being in it, by Our Jesus, who revealed the ethical or spiritual nature of God in his personality & life & devoutness unto death in service & love to men. I will give my attrition to him and strive to obey him depending upon his example and the personal influence of the God he revealed to keep me in harmony and good will to you & men.[25]

In this inscription Martin provided the foundation for his thought as a minister and as an adult educator. He believed in a moral and ethical universe and that specific principles should guide one's life. He also believed that the life of Jesus embodied these principles and that it should serve as an example for others to follow.

In December of 1909 Martin made his views regarding the Jesus figure and ethical religion quite clear in a draft of a speech delivered in Chicago titled "The Divinity of Christ." Christianity, Martin argued, was not a faith about Christ, it was Christ's faith.[26] Martin rejected arguments which elevated this figure to a godlike state. He considered Christ to be a man, "prophet, martyr reformer, (and) lover of his fellows . . ."[27] For Martin, ethical religion was immediately lost sight of when Christ was considered superhuman. He viewed the moral perfection of this virtuous man as a human virtue, "won out of the struggles of a life like ours, as an inspiring triumphant achievement of the human spirit . . ."[28] He concluded the presentation with the hope "that the center of faith (was) shifting from the person of Jesus to that social idealism which Jesus (shared) with all souls in all times who really (dared) to believe the kingdom of God."[29]

A month later Martin elaborated upon this theme and also provided a glimpse of how he viewed his own role as a minister. In "Christianity is Socialism," a draft of a Sunday morning sermon/lecture, he stressed that "I do not consider myself a priest but a *teacher* [emphasis added] and as such it becomes my privilege to acquaint people with the mightiest movement of modern times."[30] The movement Martin referred to was Socialism:

> For anyone who can today enjoy his own possessions in peace and shut out from his feasting the sobs and groans of broken lives all about him, seeing nothing wrong in the present order of things with its terrible inevitable inequalities, its commercialism, its concern for property rights to the neglect of human rights, the strife and confusion and mercilessness of its competition, its cheap display and empty pretense, its money madness, its juvenile crime, its wasted childlife, its alcoholism, its widespread hunger in the midst of plenty, if one does not see that all this involves *a radical negation of the ethics of Jesus* [emphasis added], he, of course could not be a socialist, neither has he sufficient moral insight to enable him to be a Christian.[31]

To support his argument, Martin once more identified the central theme of the Bible as the kingdom of God on earth, "a society of peace and brotherhood."[32] Martin suggested that Christ hoped to establish such a society and that, like Christ, the socialist looked toward a better and more just world. For Martin, the core of the socialist movement in America was based on the ethics of Christ and was fundamentally a moral issue. He concluded that, "every Christian was at heart a Socialist."[33]

Martin was optimistic, during these years, that a better society was possible. But for this to happen in the twentieth century, Martin believed, a new type of individual was needed. In his first sermon as the new pastor of the First Unitarian Church, January 15, 1911, Martin noted that there was a strange stirring in the hearts of men, "a new and sudden gleam of insight. A new type of man (had) been produced."[34] He went on to note that "It is the function of religion to express the loftiest ideals of the highest type of life in any age. The real religion of this day counts not in the creed men profess, nor the texts they repeat, but in that subconscious something in the hearts of the race, that enable men to hope, to believe in the practicability of the ideal, to state clearly in terms of real experience the moral issue of life."[35]

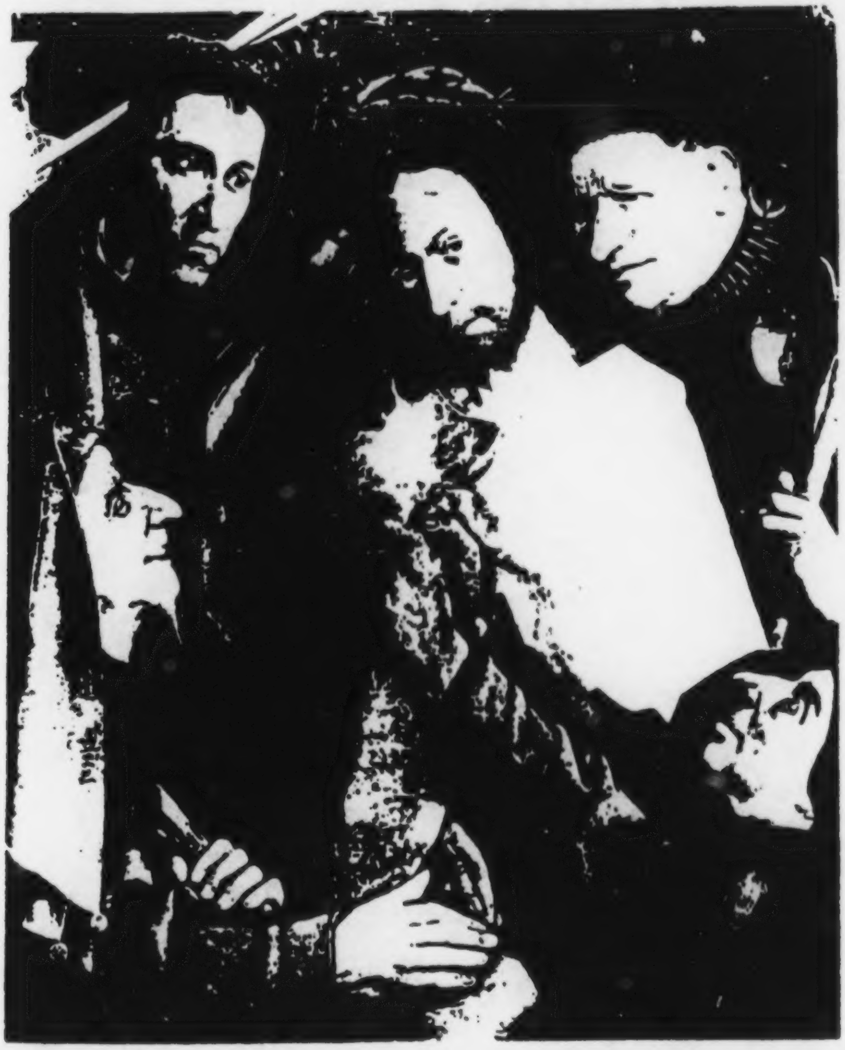
By 1911 Martin had clearly identified what he viewed as the role of "real" religion in the new century. And, by association, he had already begun to articulate his view on "real" adult education. This became even more pronounced in his further discussion of liberal Christianity:

> It is the place of liberal Christianity to state the supremacy of the everlasting ends of life over the means of living, of the believer over the thing believed, the man over the system, the worker over the product. We are not liberals because we believe less but because we believe more. We dare to believe without an infallible guarantee of the substance of our faith in a moral issue. It is not an historical opinion. Liberalism is not a new system of dogma, but a new point of view. . . . The place of liberal Christianity is to restore to the modern man his spiritual integrity.[36]

This would continue to be the dominate theme of Martin's sermons, lectures, and writings while he was a minister. It seems already difficult to deny the influence of William James on Martin's thought. Martin's emphasis on the integrity of the individual in an unfinished world, and on how people believe, rather than what they believe, is all quite Jamesian; we shall return to this theme shortly. But, for his prototype for this new person, Martin was ever drawn to the life of Christ.

Figure 1 is a depiction of a late fifteenth century painting by Hieronymus Bosch which captures quite effectively both Martin's sense of liberal Christianity and his emerging thought on liberal adult education. The image is titled The Crowning With Thorns. In describing the subject of the painting, the art historian, Charles DeTolnay, commented, "The figures surround Christ like a pack of wild beasts: they cling to Him, forcing the crown of thorns on to His head and tearing off His cloak. With sad, gentle eyes Christ is seeking out those of the spectator and appealing to his conscience."[37] Martin's view of Christ seemed to echo that of the Bosch painting. For Martin, as well, the gentle figure of Christ stood in the midst of his tormentors with dignity and ideals intact, illustrative of what the human spirit was capable. For those familiar with works such as The Behavior of Crowds, the Bosch painting may also nicely illustrate another major theme of Martin's, that of the individual's struggle against conformity to crowd opinion and behavior.

Figure 1. Hieronymus Bosch, The Crowning With Thorns, National Gallery, London. Oil on wood. Height 72.5 cm, width 58.5 cm.



Again, in the early months of 1912, Martin optimistically looked to the emergence of a new type of person "with new ideals and new enthusiasms."[38] The new person Martin envisioned was perhaps best summarized a few years later in one of his featured essays for the Des Moines Register and Leader. This essay, as well, provided an interesting summary of Martin's own beliefs, since he strongly identified with this new type of individual:

> Many men and women of our times are a new type. There is a constantly increasing number of people in the world now whose spiritual constitution is a little different from any who have ever lived before. This new type is gradually becoming conscious of itself. . . .
>
> We are certainly a new type mentally. We are the heirs of the great scientific discoverers of the nineteenth century. We are the results of a hundred years of democratic experiment in government. We are the products of a lot of new ideas in education.
>
> We are a little more humane, less dogmatic, more restless, less romantic, more sensitive, less prudish, and we demand more of life than our ancestors.
>
> We may not be any wiser than the past, but we are more open-minded. We are more plastic. We are a little less sure of our 'principles' and we care less about appearances.
>
> But we are earnest. We think we are religious in a little more practical way. And we, too, are finding the sanctities of living in our own way.
>
> We feel a little differently about some of the inherited definitions and customs and social institutions under which our fathers seem to have been more comfortable than we are.
>
> God knows what we shall do in the world. We mean to make it some better. But we will gradually make things different; you may be sure of that.[39]

In addition to the highly ethical life which the Jesus story provided, the lives and writings of two other individuals strongly influenced Martin's thinking at this time: William James and Carl Ludwig Nietzsche. Martin considered James to be the most interesting philosopher that America had produced.[40] He strongly identified with James. As suggested earlier, Martin commended the following Jamesian positions: that both good and evil existed in the world; that the future was open and not already settled; that with few certainties provided, living was a noble struggle; and, that the individual will was a major creative force in bettering the world.[41]

Martin regarded Nietzsche as one of the "most refined, artistic, sensitive, deeply spiritual souls of the nineteenth century."[42] As in the work of James, it was the theme of personal struggle and the emphasis on the individual in Nietzsche's writings which appealed to Martin. Nietzsche's aristocratic manner also seems to have appealed to Martin. Martin considered Nietzsche to be a "true aristocratic," i.e., a free spirit, a thinker, a great teacher.[43] It seems that the works of James and Nietzsche contributed significantly to Martin's view of the new human type, a new aristocracy whose membership was to be based on the mental maturity of the individual, not on hereditary, class, or position. During these formative years Martin already stressed mental maturity as an agenda for life and for education.

In 1931 editors of the The Nation asked Martin to submit an essay describing his beliefs.[44] In the article Martin noted that how and why people believe was more important than what they believe.[45] This seems to be the same point Martin tried to make during his years as a minister; the new mental type was simply more mature, i.e., sensitive, open-minded and less sure.

The primary method Martin adopted to discuss his secular gospel of maturity was quite similar to that used so effectively at the People's Institute: the lecture series with discussion. In October of 1911 Martin announced a thirty-three session course of lectures titled, "The Jesus Story: In the Light of the Science of Historical Criticism."[46] In his introduction to the series Martin noted, "These lectures are not given in the interests of the dogma of any sect or school, but are designed to acquaint the hearer with the scientific method of bible study as it is applied by recognized biblical scholars of the various churches, and to afford candid discussion of the problems growing out of the origin of the Christian tradition, that we may know the truth about Jesus so far as it may be known at the present time."[47] As in the case of the general lectures at the People's Institute, the public was invited. From 1911 to 1915 he continued the lecture series format. It is interesting to note that in October of 1913 Martin began a sixteen-week series of lectures on "The Meaning of an Education in the Twentieth Century."[48]

MARTIN'S AGENDA FOR ADULT EDUCATION

It seems safe to suggest that Martin primarily viewed himself as a teacher. As early as 1910 when he was pastor of the People's Church in Dixon, Illinois, Martin stressed this role. Again, towards the end of his life, part of what attracted him to a faculty position at Scripps was the prospect of "embarking upon a truly experimental program in teaching."[49] But, though he was a teacher, Martin was not really an "academic." He was not university trained for a teaching/research position in higher education. He held only one "formal" higher education position, at Scripps, and this appointment came when he was fifty-six years of age. And, after a three-year trial period, he was not reappointed. Rather, as the brief biographical sketch of Martin illustrates, he was trained as a minister. Instead of an academic, Martin might best be viewed as a "cultivated amateur," what he repeatedly encouraged others to become.

As an educated amateur Martin viewed the proper task of adult education to be:

> Something which will broaden the interests and sympathies of people regardless of their daily occupation--or along with it--to lift men's thought out of the monotony and drudgery which are the common lot, to free the mind from servitude and herd opinion, to train habits of judgment and of appreciation of value, to carry on the struggle for human excellence in our day and generation, to temper passion with wisdom, to dispel prejudice by better knowledge of self, to enlist all men, in the measure that they have capacity for it, in the achievement of civilization.[50]

In The Meaning of a Liberal Education, Martin wrote, "Many people think of education as something 'high-brow,' a fastidiousness which belongs to the elite. There are those who give the impression that education is a thing of books and schools and formalities; and that there is a recognized fraternity of the finished products of the system."[51] But, Martin viewed adult education quite differently. Adult education was "the organization of knowledge into human excellence."[52] It was "not the mere possession of knowledge, but the ability to reflect upon it and grow in wisdom."[53] Thus, adult education was available to all; one only had to desire its pursuit. Again, he wrote, "One does not 'get' an education anywhere. One becomes an educated person by virtue of patient study, quiet mediation, intellectual courage, and a life devoted to the discovery and service of truth."[54] This was the way of the educated amateur. This was Martin's way. The agenda for adult education was to foster this spirit and to promote thinking.

The portrait of Martin gleaned from this review is quite illuminating. While employed as a minister in Illinois and Des Moines, Martin established himself as both a lecturer and writer. In his lectures he stressed the ethical and human characteristics of Jesus, and, rather optimistically, looked toward a more just and enlightened society based upon Christ's example. When his writings appeared in 1914, Martin vigorously argued for a new type of individual. Characteristics of this new human type included sensitivity, experimentation, and open-mindedness. As suggested, Martin strongly identified with this new type of individual and was heavily influenced in his thinking by the writings of James and Nietzsche. During his years as a minister, Martin appeared to have maneuvered, rather adroitly, through a number of ideologies and roles. He was a minister and a teacher, a democrat and an aristocrat, an idealist and a pragmatist, a socialist and an individualist. He was successful, and, on the surface, he appeared to be a rather satisfied and contented individual. When Martin began his work with the People's Institute a few years later his agenda for adult education was already well-developed.

NOTES

1. Spencer Miller, Jr., James Creese, and Charles E. Rush, "The Clearing House," Journal of Adult Education 13 (1941): 313.

2. Morse A. Cartwright, "Everett Dean Martin," Journal of Adult Education 13 (1941): 324.

3. Michael Day, "Adult Education as a New Educational Frontier: Review of the Journal of Adult Education, 1929-1941," (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1981), 126.

4. Webster Cotton, On Behalf of Adult Education: A Historical Examination of the Supporting Literature (Boston: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Boston University, 1968), 23.

5. Frederick P. Keppel, "Education as a Lively Art," review of The Meaning of a Liberal Education, by Everett Dean Martin, The Yale Review 16 (1927): 791.

6. Evans Clark, "What Makes an Educated Man? Two Books Which Imply that Book Learning is not Enough," review of The Meaning of a Liberal Education, by Everett Dean Martin, and The Meaning of Adult Education, by Eduard Lindeman, The New York Times Book Review (9 January 1927): 1.

7. Morris A. Okun and L. J. Pristo, "Prominent Contributors to the Field of Adult Education," Lifelong Learning: The Adult Years 2 (January 1979): 14.

8. Michael Day and Bill McDermott, "Where has all the History Gone in Graduate Programs of Adult Education?" (Paper presented at the Adult Education Association U.S.A. Conference, St. Louis, Mo., November 1980).

9. Gordon G. Darkenwald and Sharan B. Merriam, Adult Education: Foundations of Practice (New York: Harper & Row, 1982).

10. C. Hartley Grattan, In Quest of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Adult Education (New York: Arno Press, 1971); Malcolm S. Knowles, A History of the Adult Education Movement in the United States (Huntington, N.Y.: Robert E. Krieger, 1977). The only references Grattan made to Martin were that he was the director of the People's Institute and a member of the Advisory Committee on Adult Education, commissioned by the Carnegie Corporation in 1924. Though Knowles discussed the early years of the adult education movement in the U.S., as well as the founding, organization, leadership, and history of the AAAE, the only acknowledgement of Martin was a table which listed the presidents of the AAAE.

11. Michael Day and Donald Seckinger, "Everett Dean Martin: Spiritual Leader of the Adult Education Movement in the United States," in Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings, ed. Robert Inkster (Laramie: University of Wyoming, 1987), 55-60.

12. David Stewart, Adult Learning in America: Eduard Lindeman and His Agenda for Lifelong Education (Malabar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger, 1987), 92.

13. Ibid., 92.

14. David Stewart, review of Towards a History of Adult Education in America, by Harold Stubblefield, Lifelong Learning: An Omnibus of Practice and Research (October 1988): 27-28.

15. Ibid., 28.

16. Ibid.

17. Harold W. Stubblefield, Towards a History of Adult Education in America (London: Croom Helm, 1988).

18. Robert B. Fisher, "The People's Institute of New York City, 1897-1934: Culture, Progressive Democracy, and the People," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1974).

19. Everett Dean Martin Collection, The Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif. Stubblefield notes, for example, that Martin left the ministry in 1914; he actually left the ministry in the fall of 1915. He also states that Martin moved to Claremont, Calif. in 1938; he actually moved to Claremont during the summer of 1936.

20. Stubblefield, Towards a History of Adult Education, 64.

21. Ibid., 72.

22. Ibid., 69.

23. Everett Dean Martin, "The Assault on the Human Spirit," typewritten MS in the possession of Professor Edward A. White.

24. Commencement Announcement, Everett Dean Martin Collection, file 10, The Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif.

25. Inscription on Bible, Everett Dean Martin Collection, The Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif.

26. Everett Dean Martin, "The Divinity of Christ," 1. (Draft of a speech read at the Annual Meeting of the Outlook Conference, University Club, Chicago, Ill., 13 December 1909.) Everett Dean Martin Collection, file 38, The Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., 3.

29. Ibid., 5.

30. Everett Dean Martin, "Christianity is Socialism," 1. (Draft of a Sunday morning lecture read at the People's Church, Dixon, Ill., 23 January 1910.) Everett Dean Martin Collection, file 39, The Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., 6.

33. Ibid., 7.

34. "New Pastor in Initial Sermon," The Register and Leader (Des Moines), 16 Jan. 1911, p. 5.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Charles DeTolnay, Hieronymus Bosch (New York: Reynal and Company, 1966), 307.

38. "Unitarian Minister Discusses Teaching of London Pastor, The Register and Leader (Des Moines), 1 Jan. 1912, p. 6.

39. Everett Dean Martin, "Human Types," The Register and Leader (Des Moines), 7 Apr. 1914, p. 6.

40. Everett Dean Martin, "A Fighting Chance," The Register and Leader (Des Moines), 16 Aug. 1914, p. 6.

41. Ibid.

42. Everett Dean Martin, "Nietzsche," The Register and Leader (Des Moines), 20 Nov. 1914, p. 6.

43. Ibid.

44. Everett Dean Martin, "What I believe," The Nation, 21 Oct. 1931.

45. Ibid., 426.

46. Announcement of Lecture Series: "The Jesus Story: In the Light of the Science of Historical Criticism," beginning 8 October 1911. Everett Dean Martin Collection, file 50, The Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif.

47. Ibid.

48. Announcement of Lecture Series: "The Meaning of an Education in the Twentieth Century," beginning 12 October 1913. Everett Dean Martin Collection, file 69, The Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif.

49. Morse Cartwright to Ernest J. Jaqua, 16 March 1936. Everett Dean Martin Collection, file 210, The Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif.

50. Everett Dean Martin, The Meaning of a Liberal Education (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1926), 3.

51. Ibid., 66-68.

52. Ibid., 70.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., 83.

THE DANISH FOLK HIGH SCHOOL AND ITS RECEPTION IN THE UNITED STATES: 1870s-1930s

Harold W. Stubblefield

In the interwar period, the term adult education became widely used in the United States. Americans seriously began to consider the importance of education in the adult years and how those educational needs might be best met. Adults were not without opportunities to learn, but no national effort had been focused on adult education. In this venture of national scope, Americans were without precedent but not without example.

They found these examples in other countries--particularly in England, Denmark and other Scandinavian countries, and Germany--where adult education had become a national movement, and adult education had taken a particular form. The Danish Folk High School was one form that attracted the attention of many Americans, not only in the interwar period but in the 19th century as well.

The Danish Folk High School (DFHS) resisted the pattern of transplantation that occurred with English adult education forms, such as learned societies, the Young Men's Christian Association, university extension, and the social settlements. Once transported to the United States, these institutional forms adapted to American conditions. Their origin became obscured, and they were then incorporated into the American institutional structure. The DFHS proved, however, to be less adaptable to American conditions. This paper examines how the DFHS as an educational idea and institutional form was transported to the United States in the 1870s-1930s. This process has thus far been an unexplored part of the American experience in educational borrowing.

THE GRUNDTVIGIAN FOLK SCHOOL

Contemporary interpreters sometimes describe the DFHS as a version of the American free university, distinguished by the absence of entrance requirements, examinations, or certification. How the DFHS came into being is an often told story and does not need to be repeated in detail here, but it is important to understand the nature of the folk school (and the historical context in which it arose) that Americans attempted to transport to their country.

Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783-1872), Lutheran pastor, poet, hymn writer, and historian, gave birth to the idea of the folk school which his followers implemented. The Grundtvigian ideological system and folk school emerged from a turbulent period of Danish nationalism, democratic change, and economic crisis. Grundtvig's ideas helped to restore national pride after disastrous military defeats of the 1860s, to rebuild a depressed economy, and to equip the peasants for suffrage.

Michelson's (1969) analysis of how the Grundtvigian religious movement contributed to economic change is instructive. After 1828, following Grundtvig's resignation from church office, he began to articulate his ideas in print, and they gained acceptance among a group of people who became active in his behalf. Persons applied the name "Grundtvigian" to these ideas and the theology that accompanied them, and the name became common in Denmark. Grundtvigians valued self-expression and regarded conversation as recreation. They possessed strong egos and had few doubts about their own country and their role in building it. They did not fear innovation and believed in showing people what they could do. On the other hand, they were also dependent on one another, cooperated in common endeavors, and compromised to make the situation work for others.

Grundtvigians developed several mechanisms for implanting these ideas: singing, the "meeting," the church, grammar schools, and the folk schools. Of these several mechanisms, the folk school has been linked to the establishment of cooperatives, which resulted in Danish farm prosperity. All credit, as Michelson (1969) cautions, does not belong to the folk schools. The folk schools could not have existed during that period of Danish history except as part of a wider Grundtvigian community, and they were only one of several mechanisms by which the Grundtvigian idea system was disseminated and internalized. The folk schools did not teach economics nor advocate cooperation. Yet, the Grundtvigian ideas predisposed people for structural change which did involve cooperation.

THE FOLK SCHOOLS AND AMERICA BEFORE WORLD WAR I

Danish immigrants soon transported the Grundtvigian folk schools to the United States. Between 1820 and 1870 Danish immigration numbered only 22,634, but 31,771 Danes emigrated to the United States between 1871 and 1880. The number continued to increase in the decades that followed, before World War I (Larson, 1980). The first Danish pastors came to the States in 1871. The following fall, a Danish seminary to train mission pastors coming to the United States opened at Askov Folk School. At the same time, in the United States, the Mission Society and the first Danish church paper were founded.

At a meeting of Danish Lutheran ministers in Chicago in 1876 the idea of establishing a folk school in the United States was first proposed. The plan to open a school in Chicago did not materialize, but interest continued, and in November 1878 a school at Elk Horn, Iowa opened. Between 1882 and 1911 folk schools opened at Grant, Michigan; West Denmark, Wisconsin; Nysted, Minnesota; Tyler, Minnesota; Kenmare, North Dakota; and Solvan, California. In 1921 the Dalum Folk School opened in Alberta, Canada.

These schools were short-lived, and none survived the Depression. The Grundtvigian branch of the American Lutheran Church supported them, and pastors who came from Denmark with folk school experience served as principals. The folk schools clearly served to prevent these Danes from being assimilated into the "melting pot." Because the Grundtvigian Lutherans wanted to preserve Danish culture in America, the schools remained closely tied to the Danish colonies. They attracted no publicity and thus made little impact on the larger American society.

American educators learned about the DFHS through their travel in Europe and their study of educational systems there. One such traveler who visited Denmark in 1896 later recognized the relevance of the DFHS to rural education and to the Appalachian mountains. He was Philander P. Claxton, who served as executive secretary of the Conference for Southern Education and Professor of Secondary Education at the University of Tennessee before becoming U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1911.

Claxton believed that the church mission schools in Appalachia had outlived their usefulness and that now the curriculum should be adapted to the life of the people. In 1908 Claxton found a way to promote the DFHS as the new model through the work of John C. Campbell and his wife, the former Olive Dame Medford.

In May of 1908 Campbell attended the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in Richmond, Virginia as the guest of Mary Glenn, chair of the section on needy families and their neighborhoods. Campbell was then 42 and at a turning point in his career. For health reasons, he had recently resigned his position as President of Piedmont College, and he had just returned from Europe after six months of vacationing with his new wife.

At the conference he heard Bruce R. Payne, Professor of Secondary Education at the University of Virginia, call for an expert study of the region. After the session, Campbell expressed to Mrs. Glenn his agreement with this need and his desire to undertake such a study if resources were available. Mrs. Glenn relayed this information to her husband, John Glenn, who was Director of the Russell Sage Foundation. Campbell presented a proposal for the study which the Foundation funded in 1908. Campbell's study continued until October 1912, when the Foundation established a Southern Highland Division and Campbell became the Division's Secretary.

Claxton had also attended the Richmond conference, but it was in Knoxville in October 1908 that he talked with Olive Dame Campbell about the "grown-up" schools in Denmark and Sweden (Whisnant, 1983, pp. 127-130). Claxton urged the Campbells to investigate the folk schools, and in 1909 Campbell began to make inquiries of persons in Denmark and of principals of Danish-American folk schools. The Campbells wanted to visit Denmark but the outbreak of the War prevented it.

When Claxton became U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1911, he immediately had pressure to deal with the problem of rural education and illiteracy. The 1909 Country Life Commission Report claimed rural education was in crisis, and the 1910 Census data reported widespread illiteracy, particularly in the south. In the winter of 1913 Claxton dispatched three persons to Denmark to study the applicability of the folk school to education and economic development in rural America: Harold W. Foght, one of the Bureau's specialists in rural education, and L. L. Friend and W. H. Smith, special collaborators in the Bureau's Rural Education Division. The reports of Foght and Friend, submitted to Claxton in 1913 and published as U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletins in 1914, endorsed the applicability of the folk school model to the Southern Highlands.

Foght solicited information from John C. Campbell about Appalachia to include in the report, and he also reported on Cora Stewart's literacy "moonlight" schools in Kentucky. Foght believed that the Danish folk schools were most appropriate where American conditions were most like Denmark. The Foght and Friend reports were, Shapiro (1978) claimed, "the most important body of information concerning the folk schools published before the 1920s" (p. 234). Educational reformers turned to these reports for information about the Danish example in redirecting rural education.

Evidently Foght's contact with Campbell in late summer or early autumn of 1913 marked a turning point. His interest in the DFHS as a model for an alternative education for mountain life was tied to the emergence of Appalachia as a distinct region with a distinct, but not inferior, culture and concern about how best to preserve the culture and equip persons to live in it. In 1914 Campbell attended several conferences where he called for the Danish folk schools to be adapted to mountain work, and he and his wife became leading advocates of the Danish folk schools in the United States. Nothing, however, resulted from the Campbells' advocacy before the World War.

ADAPTING THE FOLK SCHOOL TO AMERICA IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Campbell died in 1919, but before his death he had begun, at last, to organize his survey data and experiences into a book length interpretation of the Southern Highlands. His wife, Olive Dame Campbell, completed the manuscript which was published in 1921 as The Southern Highlander and His Homeland. In it she reflected her husband's strong belief in the value of Danish-type folk schools for the Southern Highlands and advocated their establishment. In 1922, supported by an American-Scandinavian Foundation fellowship, Olive Campbell went with her sister, Daisy, and Marguerite Butler of Pine Mountain Settlement School to study the Danish folk school (Whisnant, 1983). Going about her task diligently, she later distilled her observations into a book, The Danish Folk School: Its Influence in the Life of Denmark and the North (1928).

In 1925 Mrs. Campbell founded the John C. Campbell Folk School at Brasstown, North Carolina. By 1930 the school's basic programs were in place: a demonstration farm, cooperatives, a community program, and a residential school. Campbell called the school "a venture in adult education" that attempts "to adjust to existing conditions in North Carolina the basic principles of the Danish folk school" (Campbell, 1930, p. 251). Americans had turned to Denmark, she claimed, because they had had little experience with adult education for country life.

Despite the Campbells' high expectations, the Southern Highlands did not prove receptive to the Danish-type folk school. The John C. Campbell Folk School has survived as a mountain handicraft center, but the residential school, while it operated, was never large nor well-supported. Campbell helped initiate a folk school at Berea College (1925-1950), but the College provided little support and depended, instead, on the volunteer efforts of staff and faculty.

What Claxton, the Bureau of Education investigators, and the Campbells had believed to be the educational solution for the Appalachian mountains proved not to be transportable. Others would also learn the difficulty of transporting this educational innovation. During the interwar period other schools patterned after the Danish model were organized. In 1923 Soren A. Mathiasen founded Pocono Peoples College near Henryville, Pennsylvania, the first non-Danish folk school in the United States (Mortensen, 1977; Schact, 1957). The problem of financing proved insurmountable, and Pocono closed in 1930. Mathiasen apparently remained optimistic about the receptivity of Americans to such a school, and in 1934 he founded the American Peoples School at the Van Courtland Center in the Bronx, New

York City. The school closed in 1945, probably because Mathiasen's poor health made it impossible for him to provide leadership.

A local group of Danish-Americans, who held the title to Ashland Folk School in Grant, Michigan, attempted to revive the school in 1928 under the leadership of an American educator. The school operated until 1934 (Landis & Willard, 1933; Larson, 1970).

At the age of 75, Jens Jensen fulfilled his dream of operating a folk school when, in 1935, he established The Clearing in Wisconsin (Takemoto, 1987; 1988). Born in 1860 in the Danish province of Schleswig, Jensen was a product of the folk school movement for cultural preservation, attending first the folk school in Vinding in 1879 and then Tune Agricultural School, a common educational sequence for Danish farm youth. Emigrating to the United States in 1884, he finally settled in Chicago where he had a successful career in the Chicago Park District and was a leading proponent of "native" landscape architecture. Jensen incorporated several Danish folk school traditions in The Clearing program. The Clearing did not address economic and social issues. Rather, Jensen implemented the Grundtvigian idea, seeking, in Takemoto's words, to "develop the inner self and foster moral character, civic pride, and a democratic spirit" (1988, p. 424). After Jensen's death in 1951, the folk school phase of The Clearing ended.

Other adaptations occurred in universities. In 1931 Chris L. Chistensen, Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin, redesigned the Farm Short Course after the model of the Danish folk school (Schact, 1957). Christensen, in a visit to Denmark in 1922, had seen how the folk schools had helped Denmark.

On November 13, 1936 the University of Minnesota's Center for Continuation Study was dedicated. Harold Benjamin, the Center's first director, had previously taught at Danebod, the International People's College in Elsinore, Denmark, and the Danish-American folk school at Askov, Minnesota (Alford, 1967). He linked the University's center to the Danish folk school by following its example of using a residential setting for general education.

A GENERAL THEORY OF ADULT EDUCATION EMERGES: THE DANISH FOLK SCHOOL IDEA OF EDUCATION AND AMERICAN PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

In the nascent adult education movement of the interwar period, Joseph K. Hart and Eduard C. Lindeman share credit for incorporating elements of the Danish folk school idea of adult education into an American theory of adult education. Their educational theory was primarily informed by progressive education, and both had written books on community organization supporting democratic participation before they began to build an adult education theory.

One has only to read Hart's published works, beginning with Educational Resources of Village and Rural Communities (1913), to understand why the Danish folk school idea so captivated him. Hart visited Denmark in 1925 while education editor of the Survey Graphic after he had already established himself as an authority on education through books written while he was professor at several universities. What Hart discovered in Denmark revalidated his own vision of education and society: the school using the community educatively, a community social intelligence center for dealing with community problems, citizen control of the community through community councils, and adults applying scientific method to social problems.

Hart reported his experience in three articles in the Survey Graphic in 1926. These were later published as Light From the North (1927a), a book that did much to make the DFHS known to Americans. In his book, Adult Education (1927b), Hart devoted a chapter to the Danish experience and returned at the book's conclusion to the "Danish People's Colleges" as an example for Americans. His articles on the folk schools were part reportage, part analysis of his educational pilgrimage, and part criticism of the American educational system and regressive thinking.

Hart (1927a) was impressed that at a uniform early age Danish young persons began to study important issues and examine the meaning of life. In these five-month terms, students began to develop a "life-hypothesis," a basis for their lives to be tested in the reality of the community. Students also had to grapple with the forces that govern community life--including traditions, culture, and institutional prerogatives. He admired the cooperative spirit that pervaded the life of the people: they were individualistic but cooperative. The Danes had achieved their success which Hart witnessed in 1925 through preservation of their culture, history, folkways, and communities, coupled with the application of science. In the Danish experience Hart had found the social education he had sought unsuccessfully in America: an education that developed and released a social intelligence capable of promoting social change.

Lindeman presents a more difficult case to interpret. In 1920 Lindeman visited Denmark for the first time, and that experience apparently made an indelible impression on him. David Stewart (1987), Lindeman's biographer, has argued that Grundtvig's educational ideas greatly influenced Lindeman, and he applied them to the American situation after first stripping the ideas of their Danish nationalistic and Lutheran religious trappings. The development of Lindeman's adult education ideas appears to be more complex than that, for the Grundtvigian views found reception in a mind already fertile with other ideas.

Lindeman came to Denmark with ideas about adult education derived from his experience with the Cooperative Extension Service and his ten years of applied research on community organization. He published his research findings in 1921 in a book entitled, The Community. In the early and mid-twenties when his ideas about adult education formed, he participated in two major applied social science research projects dealing with individual and group behavior.

Lindeman saw adult education as more than institutional programs to enhance the freedom of individual learners. He was interested in the dynamics of social (folk) movements with an educational base. In Denmark (and also in the other Scandinavian countries, in the English workers' education movement, and in the folk school movement in Germany after the War), he found a living example of the power of such folk movements supported by an educational base. When Lindeman formulated his ideas about adult education, as I have noted elsewhere (Stubblefield, 1988), he derived generalized criteria for defining adult education from the Danes and

Germans. For him, adult education was "individual growth through learning in social medium for social end" (p. 146). This restrictive definition, in effect, excluded the most common forms of adult education in the United States.

Lindeman's most mature statement about adult education, The Meaning of Adult Education, appeared in 1926. It represented a synthesis of progressive education, applied social science, and principles of the kind of adult education that supported social (folk) movements. The adult education theory that emerged addressed the new America whose most characteristic features were urbanization, industrialization, and specialization.

Others also found the DFHS example combined well with progressive educational theory and established institutions based on this view. One was Royce Pitkin, founder of Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont, and the other was Myles Horton, founder of Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee. Pitkin, a native of Vermont, worked on his master's and doctorate in education at Columbia University in the mid-twenties and early thirties (Benson & Adams, 1987). There he learned of the DFHS through the work of Edgar W. Knight, professor of education at the University of North Carolina, whose study of Danish culture in 1925-1926 had resulted in a book, Among the Danes, which included an account of the effectiveness of the DFHS. Pitkin became interested in adapting the folk school idea to residential adult education and in relating educational institutions to the community. Particularly influential in developing Pitkin's educational philosophy were progressive educators: John Dewey, William Kilpatrick, Harold Ruggs, and Boyd Bode.

Pitkin was able to implement his dream of a progressive school when he founded Goddard College in 1938. At Goddard he immediately began ongoing residential adult education programs. In January, 1939, the first academic year for the college, four schools for adults were held; later the program expanded. Goddard College continues today as an innovative undergraduate college, with nontraditional graduate programs and adult residential programs.

In the Highlander Folk School--now the Highlander Research and Education Center--both the form and idea were fused through the crucible of Myles Horton's vision and experience. The Highlander Folk School is an American original (Glen, 1988). Horton, born in Savannah, Tennessee entered Cumberland University at Lebanon, Tennessee in 1924. During his college days he encountered segregation and worker powerlessness, two structural aspects of American society that Highlander would address. His most decisive experience occurred in the summer of 1927 when he led a Vacation Bible School for the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. at Ozone, Tennessee. To his surprise, he found that the adults whom he invited to attend evening sessions had insight into their situation when given the opportunity for discussion, and they could find answers on their own. This experience at Ozone became the nucleus of the idea of Highlander (Bledsoe, 1969).

In the fall of 1929 Horton enrolled in Union Theological Seminary in New York to continue his search for an "education" appropriate for the mountains. At Union he formed a lifelong friendship with Reinhold Niebuhr, a theologian and critic of capitalism. Horton visited settlement houses, Brookwood Labor College, and utopian experiments. All the time he read books on how to build a social order.

While in New York, Horton also came across Hart's Light From the North and Lindeman's The Meaning of Adult Education. Adams (1975), in his account of Highlander, written in collaboration with Horton, claims that Lindeman and Hart were "perhaps most directly influential on Horton's Ozone Project" (p. 14), for in Hart and Lindeman, Horton found Americans who made a case for adult education as an agent of social change.

His quest carried him in the fall of 1930 to the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Sociology for studies with Robert Parks and other researchers on the urban community and to several visits with Jane Addams and Alice Hamilton at Hull House. While he was in Chicago, in the spring of 1931, Horton first heard about the Danish folk schools from Aage Moller, a Danish-born Lutheran minister. It was Moller who suggested the folk school as a model for Horton Enok Mortensen, pastor of an all Danish congregation in Chicago. Attracted to this idea, Horton began immediately a study of Danish culture, language, and the folk schools. Among the books were Campbell's The Southern Highlander and His Homeland (1921). He thought Campbell too romantic about mountain life and people, but he took seriously Campbell's views of the folk schools.

Horton's interest led him in September, 1931, to Denmark to see the folk schools for himself and to assess how they had achieved the results attributed to them. By then he had stopped searching for a model school, dissuaded in part by the failures of Danish-Americans to transplant the folk school in America (Horton, 1983). By Christmas night, 1931, Horton had resolved the issue, and he wrote down his thoughts. Everything could not be worked out in advance, but he would open a school and let the institutional form develop as the mountain people and factory workers evolved an educational program. In May, 1932 he returned to the United States to raise monies for his school and to seek a location. At the Blue Ridge Assembly in North Carolina, Horton met Don West who would become a co-founder of Highlander. West's background was similar to Horton's. He entered Vanderbilt University in 1928 and became interested in the folk school through Alva W. Taylor and Joseph K. Hart. He then spent a year in Denmark, returning to Vanderbilt to complete his degree in 1931. For his thesis he conducted a sociological study of rural Knott County, Kentucky, and he concluded that the Danish style education system was the solution to their social and economic problems.

Horton and West discussed their ideas for several days and decided to be co-directors of a new school. Horton had the money, and West had the location, the farm of Lillian Johnson at Monteagle, Tennessee. The Highlander Folk School opened in the fall of 1932. West left the next year, and it was Horton who shaped and guided this fledgling venture in adult education.

In some respects the early development of Highlander resembled the Campbell folk school. Horton and other staff provided educational and recreational programs for the community, initiated a residential school, and organized cooperatives. But there was a difference. Highlander supported the emerging southern labor movement, and Horton shaped Highlander's education program to support his social philosophy of economic democracy (Horton, 1938).

Horton believed that political and economic power had to be challenged to release the common people from domination. That belief was certainly not unique in the Depression years or in other periods of American history. But there was a difference in Horton's approach: the people with the problems would have to work out their own solutions, not the experts who had unsuccessfully attempted to solve the problems of the Southern Highlands. Instead of giving solutions, Highlander helped common people acquire an educational base to gain control of their own lives. In the evolution of the Highlander idea, Horton called his year's experience in Denmark "an organic part of Highlander" (Horton, 1978, p. 74), particularly the spirit and radical ideas of the folk school, but he did not repeat the mistake of others by replicating its structure or method.

CONCLUSION

What impact, then, did the Grundtvigian educational philosophy as institutionalized in the DFHS have upon American adult education from 1910 through the 1930s? Many Americans were attracted to the folk school as an educational form, but their efforts to transplant the folk school to America failed. The schools lacked financial support, and young adults had other educational alternatives. Perhaps more important, an American cultural basis could not be found. Grundtvigian ideas and the folk school found most receptivity among those committed to the progressive educational tradition, the American philosophy most compatible with Grundtvigian educational philosophy.

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EARLY IDEAS ON THE TRAINING OF LEADERS FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Ralph G. Brockett

The period between the two World Wars was a particularly crucial time in the development of the adult education movement in the United States. According to Webster Cotton (1964), the early years of the adult education movement, which includes the period between the Wars, was characterized by two traditions. The first of these was what Cotton referred to as the "social reformist" tradition. This tradition, which emerged during the 1920s, included such individuals as Eduard Lindeman, Joseph Hart, Charles Beard, and Alexander Meiklejohn. It stressed that the major emphasis of adult education should be on addressing social, political, and economic issues of the times. An alternative perspective, which Cotton has called the "professional" tradition, began to emerge during the early and middle 1930s. This tradition, which Cotton has argued was at least partially a reaction against the perceived "utopianism" of the social reform tradition, included, according to Cotton, such individuals as Lyman Bryson, Morse Cartwright, Alvin Johnson, E. L. Thorndike, and Everett Dean Martin. The professional tradition was important to the development of the movement because it "indicated that the adult education movement was becoming sophisticated and mature--that it was learning from its contact with social reality" (Cotton, 1964, p. 84).

Few issues have divided the contemporary adult education field more than whether the field should strive toward greater professional status and, if so, what form that professionalization should take. Clearly, this debate can be traced back to the earliest years of the adult education movement in this country. The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, it will briefly identify four developments from the late 1920s that can be argued to have helped shape the professional tradition of adult education. Second, the paper will focus specifically on one of these developments--university training for leaders in adult education.

INFLUENCES ON THE PROFESSIONAL TRADITION

Although Cotton suggested that the professional tradition arose during the 1930s, it would seem that the seeds of this tradition were being sown in the previous decade. What were these seeds? It is suggested here that at least four closely-interrelated developments influenced the emergence of the professional tradition. These developments were the formation of professional associations, the establishment of a professional literature base, early efforts to initiate research on adult education, and the training of leaders to work in adult education. In order to set the context for the paper, the first three of these influences will be briefly identified. The remainder of the paper will then concentrate on a closer examination of the emergence of training for adult education leaders.

Formation of Professional Associations

During the middle of the 1920s, two professional associations of adult education came into being. First, the Department of Immigrant Education of the National Education Association changed its name to the Department of Adult Education. In 1927 the NEA Department expanded its membership base and initiated several projects intended to move the association "away from the role of a strictly professional society of public school adult educators toward a more general coordinative role" (Knowles, 1977, p. 210). The second association to emerge during this time was the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE). Founded in 1926, as the result of a series of meetings sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, the intent of the AAAE, as stated in its constitution, was "to promote the development and improvement of adult education in the United States and to cooperate with similar associations in other countries" (Knowles, 1977, p. 194).

While Knowles (1977) devoted about eight pages to the history of the NEA Department, the present author is not aware of a more extensive treatment of this history. On the other hand, the history of the AAAE seems more accessible. Major developments of the AAAE during the time period under consideration were documented by AAAE executive director Morse Cartwright (1935) in his series of Annual Reports, which appeared in each volume of the Journal of Adult Education, and in his account of the first decade of the adult education movement. Several interpretations of the development of the AAAE, and the role of the Carnegie Corporation in this development, have been offered (e.g., Knowles, 1977; Rose, 1979; Stubblefield, 1988).

Establishment of a Professional Literature Base

A second development that seems to have contributed to the development of a professional tradition was the establishment of the professional literature base. During the middle 1920s several books were published that attempted to define adult education and/or identify its role in society. Among the most familiar of these works to the contemporary field are Eduard Lindeman's The Meaning of Adult Education (1926), Everett Dean Martin's The Meaning of a Liberal Education (1926), Dorothy Canfield Fisher's Why Stop Learning? (1927), and Joseph Hart's Adult Education (1927). The AAAE appears to have played a key role in the establishment of the professional literature. In 1929 the Association first published its Journal of Adult Education (JAE). For the next 13 years the JAE served as an important voice for the adult education movement, as interpreted through the eyes of the AAAE. Day (1981), in an extensive content analysis of the JAE during this time period, offers several insights into the flavor and importance of the publication.

In addition to publication of the JAE, the AAAE sponsored the publication of a large number of books during the 1930s. Among these were two "handbooks" of adult education (Rowden, 1934; 1936), a compilation of articles extracted from the first several years of the JAE, published under the title Adult Education in Action (Ely, 1936), and a 27-volume series of field-based investigations entitled "Studies in the Social Significance of Adult Education."

Initiation of Research in Adult Education

A third development during this time was an effort to better understand the adult learner through systematic research. Certainly a most influential study from this period was a study of adult intelligence that refuted earlier findings about the inevitable decline of intelligence in adulthood (Thorndike et al., 1928). However, other researchers also began to direct their attention to adult learning during this time. One such example was an investigation of adult's reading interests (Waples, 1930).

During the 1930s there seem to have been various "calls" for adult educators to engage in research. One such call was from W. W. Charters (1930), who suggested that the fundamental problem could be found in the following question: "What are the differences between the techniques of teaching adults and the techniques of teaching children?" (p. 372). One of three major areas needing investigation, according to Charters, was the selection and training of adult education leaders.

Of the three influences on the professional tradition that have been identified, research is probably the one that has been least clearly understood. While the picture painted by two early reviews was not very positive (Bittner, 1950; Brunner et al., 1959), it would seem important to further explore the ways in which research was defined by those within the field during the period under consideration.

THE EMERGENCE OF UNIVERSITY TRAINING FOR LEADERS IN ADULT EDUCATION

The three influences presented above have been introduced in order to illustrate the context in which the professional tradition of adult education was born. The discussion will now shift to a closer look at the fourth development. For purposes of this discussion, "training of leaders" will focus on university-based courses in adult education. A description of several major developments will be followed by an examination of central themes and the identification of several possible directions for further exploration.

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The *JAE* played a role in providing information about training activities. A regular feature of the *JAE* was a section entitled "Clearing House," which announced upcoming adult education activities and provided synopses of recent programs. Often included in this section was information about teacher-training programs and adult education courses. "Clearing House" was an important source for the information contained in the following paragraphs.

It is important to recognize from the outset that university preparation, and graduate education in particular, was only one avenue toward which leadership training efforts were focused. During this period (roughly 1929-1941), training for adult education leaders was offered through such agencies as parent associations, agricultural extension, and religious organizations. In addition, the economic crisis of the early 1930s resulted in the establishment of the Federal Emergency Education Program. This program provided training for qualified persons who might be employed as teachers of adults and preschool children. Participants included public school teachers who had lost their jobs, recent graduates of teacher-training programs unable to find work, and individuals without teaching experience but with "valuable experience in useful fields--artist, musicians, lawyers, accountants, mechanics, craftsmen, nurses, homemakers" (Wiese & Maxwell, 1939, p. 172). Though this program was operated by universities throughout the country, its focus remained different from that of the university courses that eventually led to the emergence of graduate study.

Early Efforts

According to Houle (1964), the first university course with the words "adult education" in the title appeared in 1922 at Teachers College, Columbia University. However, it was not until several years later that a more conscious effort to offer "teacher training" and "courses in adult education" was made. For instance, Cartwright (1935) noted that the problem of "training in methods of adults" (p. 134) was first recognized in summer sessions at Teachers College during 1927 and 1928.

Two of the earliest reported efforts to provide university training for adult education leaders were the summer session programs of Teachers College, Columbia University and the University of California, Berkeley. At Teachers College, the 1929 summer session was co-sponsored with the AAAE and the New York State Education Department and consisted of 30 lectures by such individuals as Morse Cartwright (AAAE), Frederick Keppel (Carnegie Corporation), J. S. Nofsinger (National Home Study Council), Hilda W. Smith (Affiliated Summers Schools for Women Workers in Industry), and Arthur Bestor (Chautauqua Institution). Lectures were held daily, Monday through Friday, for a six-week period. In addition, those persons enrolled for two credits participated in discussion sessions following the lectures. An average of 63 persons attended each of the lectures, while an average of nearly 35 people participated in the discussion sessions. The summer session centered around five major themes: general adult education considerations, experiments in adult education, major interests in a public school program, university extensions and home study, and special fields in adult education ("Adult Education Summer Course," 1929).

The California summer session began as an experiment by the University of California, the State Department of Education, and the California Association for Adult Education. Designed "primarily to meet the needs of leaders and teachers in the field of adult education," the school was directed by Harry A. Overstreet ("California School," 1929, p. 322). The program was divided into three parts. One part consisted of courses in the "philosophy, purpose and history of adult education." A second component emphasized subject matter through "special demonstration courses in those subjects in which adults are primarily interested." A third part was made up of courses in "special phases of adult education" such as parent education, immigrant education, and vocational education (p. 323).

Like the Teachers College session, the California school ran for a six-week period and credit was offered. However, a feature unique to the California program was its residential focus. Participants resided in Hansford Hall, a dormitory on the university campus, throughout the six-week session. Bonaro Wilkinson, a participant in the 1929 summer session,

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who would eventually marry Harry Overstreet, provided a rich description of the experiment. In response to the question of why the instructors of the summer session were able to depart from the "standardized system," Wilkinson (1930) made the following observation:

> The answer would seem to lie in the fact that Hansford Hall was backing them up. Students did not separate when the bell rang. . . . They gathered at the dormitory as a unit. There, around the table or in front of the fireplace, they could go on with the discussion which an untimely bell had interrupted. Those who, lacking either in opportunity or courage, had voiced no views publicly, could now make their contribution in the friendly intimacy of a small group. . . . And, perhaps most significant of all, the professors themselves could be drawn into these discussions. They ceased to be strange creatures to be regarded from a respectful distance; they became friends with whom one could sit down and talk and with whom one could frankly disagree. . . . It was a delightful experience which continued from morning until night, the classroom serving merely as a sort of clearing house in which scattered ideas attained some semblance of organization. In short, the classes and the dormitory life were mutually complementary. (p. 70)

For the next three years, the Teachers College and California programs seemed to follow plans similar to those of the 1929 session. In 1932 Lyman Bryson assumed the directorship of the California school ("California Summer School," 1932). At least two other programs were reported during this period. In 1931 the University of Rochester conducted "the first of a series of courses in adult education" ("Adult Education Course," 1931, p. 242). This course was held during the academic year, rather than in the summer. In 1932 Ohio State University offered three summer courses during its summer quarter. Each of these courses–Theory and Problems of Adult Education, Leadership Training, and Minor Problems–were taught by Jessie Allen Charters ("Ohio Courses," 1932).

The First Graduate Programs

During this time, Teachers College and Ohio State established their graduate programs through the establishment of departments of adult education in 1930 and 1931, respectively. A chronology of these developments has been offered by Houle (1964). At Teachers College these efforts were aided by $6,000.00 from the Carnegie Corporation for the "establishment and support of fellowships in adult education" for the 1933-34 academic year ("Adult Education, Teachers College," 1933, p. 318). The experiment was continued during 1934-35, and was aided by the addition of Lyman Bryson to the faculty, initially as a visiting professor ("Columbia Leader," 1934). In 1935 the first doctoral degrees in adult education were awarded to Wilbur C. Hallenbeck and William Stacy at Teachers College (Houle, 1964) and Olive Woodruff at Ohio State (Hendrickson, 1986).

In the following years, the role of universities in graduate preparation continued to expand. Graduate programs were established at the University of Chicago (Houle, 1964) and New York University ("New York University," 1935) in 1935. And at Yale University, a General Studies program was established under the leadership of Edward S. Robinson for individuals desiring graduate training but not seeking doctoral candidacy ("Yale General Studies," 1935). By 1938, 24 institutions were offering a total of 46 courses ("Summer Courses," 1938). As for the Teachers College and California programs, in 1938 the former announced five courses while the latter offered one course.

Universities clearly played a key role in the emergence of leadership training in adult education. However, two points should be kept in mind. First, such training was not always associated with graduate degree programs in adult education. Although credit was frequently awarded for these courses, the distinction needs to be made between programs where learners were seeking graduate degrees and those programs where such was not the intent. Second, the primary sources that have been used in this investigation come from selected segments of the professional literature of the time. Training efforts reported in this literature were typically aimed at a broad spectrum of the field. Thus, local, short-term training activities are not likely to have made the pages of this literature.

CENTRAL THEMES IN THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF LEADERSHIP TRAINING EFFORTS

The above descriptions of the leadership training efforts are, by necessity, very brief, and provide a thumbnail sketch of how universities initially engaged in leadership training for educators of adults. A closer look, however, reveals that there were certain recurring themes during this period that may be central to gaining greater insight into the early development of university training for adult education leaders. The following section will focus on two interrelated themes: Who should provide leadership, and what should be the nature of leadership training?

Who Should Provide Leadership in Adult Education?

As adult education came to be considered a "movement" within some circles, the question of who would or should provide the leadership for such a movement began to emerge. Essentially, the question was one of whether such leadership should be provided by "lay" leaders, who had been attracted to the education of adults from outside of education, or by persons with professional training as educators. This issue is central to the present discussion because the two extremes represent very different conceptions about the ideal focus of leadership-training efforts and, consequently, the place of graduate study in adult education. The importance of the lay emphasis was expressed by Dorothy Canfield Fisher (1930) in the following statement regarding her early involvement with adult education:

> Professional educators were not at all the ones who had first creatively thought of the marvelous possibilities of continuing the process of education during the years of maturity; nor, after the conception had been formulated, were professional educators the leaders in the field of self-education. No, the eager consecrated pioneers of the movement were rather people who had no professional connection with education. Those on whom institutions of learning had bestowed the orthodox

> trademarks not only showed no anxiety to help along the movement, but were for years - many of them still are - hostile and offish. (p. 10)

Looking at the issue from a different perspective, Thomas Fansler (1931) offered a case on behalf of the expert or professional:

> The amateur can, perhaps, guide you to the field, point out the obvious features, but he can not lead you through it. Philosopher and friend he can be, but not a guide. . . . But here in the field is your guide. He is already there. . . . You will learn more, go faster, and hence be ready to go on to another, perhaps larger, adjacent field if you go with him. (p. 58)

Fansler built on this view by arguing that "the specialty of an educational institution should be education and not entertainment" (p. 60).

In another article, Fansler (1934) described the first year of the graduate experiment in adult education at Teachers College. Here, Fansler stated that "what the college was seeking was guidance in determining its relation to the problem of training *professional* [emphasis added] leaders in adult education." He advocated for the further development of such programs by concluding "that if schools of education have definite responsibility for the training of leaders of adult educational activities and for research into problems in adult education, many such schools should interest themselves in the task" (p. 416). The view that lay leaders were inferior was suggested by Sidonie M. Greenberg, director of the Child Study Association of America, during a panel discussion at the 1932 meeting of the AAAE:

> I find almost too much tolerance . . . of the so-called lay leader in adult education and of inferior work generally in various fields. . . . I find that the people who judge my movement know absolutely nothing about parent education and are almost too tolerant of the bad in parent education. ("Recent Trends," 1933, p. 266)

Most writers from the period seemed to advocate a position somewhere between these two extremes, recognizing the value of both lay and professional leaders. For instance, Jessie Allen Charters (1930) made the distinction between "teacher," which implies an expert in the subject matter being taught, and "leader," which "implies abilities, rather than information;

understanding rather than expertness" (p. 17). According to Charters, professional training could be viewed as somewhat analogous to traditional teacher training of the day. As an ideal for teachers of adult study groups, Charters considered this approach to be "reactionary" because it would place emphasis on content expertise and authority over the kind of "understanding" needed to effectively lead adult groups. At the same time Charters argued fervently on behalf of the need for leadership training:

> It is not possible to overestimate the importance of training for leaders in the field of adult education. We have not appreciated the fact that the whole movement may disintegrate for lack of adequate leadership unless an aggressive, positive, and very extensive program of training is speedily undertaken. (p. 20)

She went on to describe a leadership-training plan for parent education in Ohio comprised of credit and noncredit courses. In this plan, "every effort must be made to avoid 'institutionalizing' adult study" (p. 21). This suggests that Charters was advocating a lay approach. However, the plan she proposed included courses related to teaching method. This, combined with the establishment of the adult education graduate program at Ohio State University a year later, seems to provide support for the other perspective.

Throughout the next decade, there seems to have been support for the value of both lay and professional leaders in adult education. Two quotes serve to illustrate this "middle" position:

> Even though we can establish this distinction between teaching and leading, we must allow that many workers in the field play both roles, not at once, but in relation to different students, or at different times, or in different activities. (Bryson, 1936, p. 68)

and

> Because the division between lay and academic thought has existed for centuries, there is no reason for believing that it must always be. We Americans are a practical people with a talent for combining that which was separate when combination promises new values. (Johnson, 1941, p. 157)

The point that can be gleaned from these positions is that the development of "professional" leaders through graduate training in adult education was, and continues to be, only one avenue of entry into the field. An understanding of the current landscape of adult education in the U.S., including questions related to its "professional" status, or lack thereof, can probably be traced to this question and some of the early responses to the question.

What Should Be the Nature of Leadership Training?

A second question centers around the type of training to be emphasized. There are two dimensions to this question. First, there is the issue of whether such training should emphasize an experiential or academic focus. Second, there is an issue relative to whether leadership training should emphasize subject matter or teaching methods. As with the issue of who should provide leadership, there are authors who argue for one position over the other; however, most authors take a middle position, recognizing the need for both academic and experiential background, as well as subject matter and methods expertise.

With regard to the general emphasis of leadership training, one of the earliest arguments for an experiential focus was offered by MacKaye (1931), who used a military metaphor to support his position. Suggesting that "adult education is essentially an act of war" and that "the trench is the only school" where one can be trained to teach adults (p. 292), MacKaye argued for a "tactical training" approach to apprenticeship in the development of adult education leaders. MacKaye summarized his position as follows:

> Of course, college training is necessary for the candidate for the adult education classroom. There can not be too much of it, but it should deal with the subject matter of living and not with the techniques of teaching. No youthful teacher is to be employed for adult groups. Those are places for the mature teacher, with life experiences of his own. (p. 294)

During the 1935 annual meeting of the AAAE, William M. Proctor voiced further support for this view by suggesting that adult education leaders "must be trained on the job" (Hill, 1935, p. 327). However, Proctor's view was not so extreme as that of MacKaye, for he went on to suggest that "those who are to train the leaders on the job may themselves be trained by universities" (p. 327).

An alternative viewpoint is represented by Kohn (1937) who, while not directly addressing leadership training, nonetheless offered implications relative to the nature of such efforts:

> . . . a close alliance between education and scholarship is needed--not to make scholars of all students but to enable every student to gain some understanding of the achievements of scholarship, to have some share in its labors, to learn to love wisdom and clear thinking and right living genuinely and for their own sakes. (p. 31)

This need for scholarship was further emphasized by Russell (1938), who asked the question, "How shall one select [material to be taught] if one does not know more than one needs to use?" (p. 385). At the same time, Russell, stated that sympathetic imagination--the ability to put oneself in the place of one's students--is an essential quality for teachers of adults. Yet, one cannot be trained in this imagination "except through the joy that comes to the artist in the increasing approximation to his ideal" (p. 386). In other words, only through experience can one develop this quality.

A second dimension pertaining to the nature of leadership training has been implied throughout the previous pages. This centers around the desired content of leadership training, perhaps more specifically, the kinds of skills needed by successful adult education leaders. At the most basic level, this issue is one of the relative emphasis that should be placed on subject matter versus teaching methods. Various writers, such as Beck (1935) argued that too much emphasis was being placed on tools and techniques and that the fewer tools one utilized, the higher the quality of education.

For the most part, a middle position seems to have been advocated throughout the literature. Here, the view was taken that both subject matter and method are important. As an example, Brunner (1936) noted that adult education is not a "single subject" existing in "an intellectual vacuum" and thus argued that institutions involved in training adult education leaders "should not fall into the error of teaching them techniques *alone* [emphasis added]" (pp. 457-458). In 1938 the text from a series of "colloquy" were printed in the IAE. Two of these colloquies, "Who are our leaders and how are they trained?" and "Are we overemphasizing method?," addressed the subject matter/method issue in some detail.

As a final point related to this dimension, it should be noted that a wide range of qualities, which fall neither under subject-matter expertise nor teaching methodology, were identified from the literature as being desirable for teachers of adults. Among these were an ability to foster the "wish-to-learn" (Fisher, 1934), "rational skepticism" (Bryson, 1936), and "honest self-criticism" (Russell, 1938). Further work is needed in order to better understand questions related to views about the content of leadership training and the kinds of qualities identified as being desirable among such leaders.

TOWARD FURTHER EXPLANATION

This project started as part of an effort by the author to begin defining a personal agenda for the examination of early influences on adult education as a field of study. However, in the process of identifying likely influences, it was decided to focus on an exploratory look at one of these influences--the training of adult education leaders. While the ideas put forth in this paper offer insights that may be useful in understanding university involvement in training leaders for adult education, such insights must be viewed as tentative until a more detailed examination can be undertaken. The current investigation, for instance, is based largely on the use of primary sources emanating from the publications of one professional association. These writings certainly reflect one perspective on the adult education movement, but cannot be assumed to represent the entire range of thought encompassing the adult education field during the period under investigation.

There are several directions that further exploration of this topic could take. These include closer looks at key individuals, institutions, and programs in adult education. Among those whose lives might shed greater insight into understanding of leadership training are individuals such as Lyman Bryson, Morse Cartwright, Jessie Allen Charters, and Harry and Bonaro Overstreets. The Overstreets wrote a book, Leaders for Adult Education, which offered an important interpretation of leadership training during this period worthy of further examination (Overstreet & Overstreet, 1941). In addition, it might be productive to look at the contributions of Edward S. Robinson. Robinson was the director of general studies at Yale University until his death in 1937 at age 43. Though only involved with the adult education movement for a short time, it appears that Robinson was beginning to play an important role in the professional tradition of adult education at the time of his death.

With regard to institutions, future investigation could look at some of the earliest providers of programs, such as Teachers College, the University of California, the University of Chicago, Ohio State University, and New York University. Also, the major professional associations of the period, the AAAE and the NEA Department of Adult Education, could be examined further. As has been stated, this paper has been written almost entirely from the perspective of the AAAE. Yet, it is known that the agenda of this association was quite different from that of the NEA Department (e.g., Knowles, 1977). Therefore, a more complete picture of leadership training will only be possible once an examination is made from the perspective of the NEA Department.

Finally, this paper has stressed the role of universities in providing leadership training primarily through "courses in adult education," as was the term frequently used at the time. Yet, there was much more to the training of leaders than credit courses in adult education. Such activities as the Federal Emergency Education Program, agricultural extension, state education departments, libraries, parent education organizations, among other programs, were vital to a broad picture of leadership training in adult education. These stories need to be told, and their relationship to "courses in adult education" needs to be assessed.

CONCLUDING SPECULATION

This paper has pointed to the origins of struggles that remain a very real part of the contemporary adult education field. Authors such as Cotton (1964) and the contributors to the "black book" (Jensen, Liveright, & Hallenbeck, 1964) have provided convincing arguments in support of the professional tradition of adult education. Indeed, this paper offers evidence in support of the case for the professional tradition. At the same time, there remains a question that needs to be asked by those who look further at this area: In what ways did the professional tradition "cost" the field of adult education? A glance at the early volumes of the JAE, for instance, reveals contributions of leaders not directly aligned with the adult education "movement" such as Jane Addams, Theodore Roosevelt, and James Harvey Robinson. In addition, individuals known widely for contributions outside of adult education circles, such as Dorothy Canfield Fisher and John W. Studebaker, played important roles in the development of the movement. However, as the shift toward the professional tradition evolved during the 1930s, the contributions of such individuals seems to have tapered off. In order to more fully assess what might have been gained through the professional tradition of adult education, it is also necessary to understand what may have been lost in the move away from the social reformist tradition. Such an examination could help those of us engaged in the field today work toward meeting the challenge identified a quarter of a century ago by Cotton (1964): To draw the best from both the social reformist and professional traditions.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE MAKING OF ADULT EDUCATION THEORY: INFLUENCES ON THE STUDY OF PARTICIPATION, 1930-1960

Sean Courtney

INTRODUCTION

Between the First and Second World Wars, adult education as an object of conscious reflection and policymaking was born. That story has been told elsewhere with sufficient emphasis that the year 1926, the year the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE) was formed (March 26 and 27, in Chicago), is now a permanent part of our modern history.[1] Obviously, neither in that year, nor soon after, did the actual practice of adult education change substantially as a result of this one event. Nevertheless, the twenties were significant because in that decade came the first doctorates dealing with the adult learner and the establishment of the first departments of adult education.[2] At a time when the future of graduate studies in adult education is in flux, partly as a result of debate over the identity of the field and its claims to distinctness as a body of knowledge, it is useful to explore the origins of the field as it first began to define itself: for what it said about itself, what it chose to study and call research, and how it went about doing that research.

There is another purpose to this paper. This conference has as its focus, not merely the evolution of adult education between the Wars, but the history and evolution of workers' education and other forms of adult education with a liberatory tendency. By exploring early influences on the formation of adult education theory we can also see in what ways liberatory or reformist tendencies entered the field of research and were a major factor in determining the direction of that research until the end of the 1950s. This paper presents and explores the history of a brief period when interdisciplinary studies flourished. It is part of a larger dialogue, to explore the ideas and social forces which shaped adult education thinking at a time when national leaders, policymakers, and academics were beginning to take adult education as a social movement seriously.

Almost the first subject for analysis discovered by this newly self-conscious field was participation. Defining the scope of the field and identifying who was involved in it went hand-in-hand. Already in 1926, the first "thorough" survey of participants in adult education and their reasons for participation had been conducted by Marsh in Buffalo. Other surveys were conducted across the country in quick succession.[3] Participation became a regular object of research and discussion throughout the 1930s and 1940s, and, though it has continued to dominate the field right up to the present time, by the middle of the 1960s, the way the "question" of participation was being framed had changed significantly.[4]

This paper explores the influence of social science on adult education theory, particularly with respect to the subject of participation. The period covered by this paper is roughly contained by the publication of two books, Frank Lorimer's The Making of Minds in a Metropolitan Area, in 1931, and Edmund Brunner's Overview of Adult Education Research, in 1959. Between those two dates, the influence of a newly emerging field of sociology on adult education was at its strongest. Sociology gave adult education a subject for research, an attitude towards methodology, and an approach to its subject matter which fitted naturally with the emerging ideology of adult education. At a time when consensus around the agenda for adult education research and theory may be shifting, it is worth exploring these early influences on adult education theory.[5]

A SHORT HISTORY OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY

American sociology is a child of many forces, the complex product of which lies beyond the present study. It first arose in Europe as a "protest against the spirit of capitalism"[6] and is associated with the names of Saint-Simon and Comte in France and Spencer in Great Britain. It was Comte who gave it the name, "sociology." This protest consisted, in large part, of a rejection of the "armchair" philosophers, just as behaviorism at a later day was seen as a rejection of a similarly-seated psychology. Rejection of classicism entailed a strong urge to go out and study the real conditions of real people, to gather facts, "statistics" as they were later called, and explain them through application of the fiercest and most precise standards of the new human sciences. The purpose of this analysis was not, however, merely to explain. In many quarters it was indivisibly coupled with reformist zeal, with a desire to counter revolution in some cases, but mostly with a desire to bring about orderly change in society by studying how society works and feeding that information to political leaders and policymakers. Later there would be a split between those who wished above all to study, and those for whom research had to be linked with practice. It is safe to say that adult education was conceived by many as an example of the latter tendency, a practical application of the principles of social science to the amelioration of social problems.

The roots of American sociology lie in the influence of British sociology, which was, itself, rooted in conditions arising out of the Industrial Revolution, and in the Social Science Movement which had swept America in the early and middle 1800s. First, and under the influence of Saint-Simon, Hegel, and Comte, many utopian colonies were established, beginning in the early 1800s and lasting until the Civil War, based on the principles of how societies are formed and how they can function better. It was, writes Bernard, a "practical experimental sociology,"[7] fired above all else by a deep desire to revolutionalize social life and bring about a heaven on earth. Second, a new kind of transcendentalism, associated with Emerson and the Concord group, arose in New England and became grafted onto the fight against slavery. This latter movement, perhaps more than any other, lay behind the founding of the American Social Science Association, destined to lead the battle for social reform from the end of the Civil War until the 1880s. "It too was sociological only by grace of its appeal from the armchair to human events and by virtue of its interest in humanitarianism and reform."[8] Third, and the only one of the three to call itself "sociology," was a movement which arose in the South and which, drawing on the writings of Comte in the area of politics, was anxious to defend its slave institutions.

All three had elements in common, elements that fueled the eventual appearance of sociology as a scientific discipline: a "passion for social reform and an adoration of science."[9] The emergence of sociology in American universities could also be traced to the appearance of key works by Lester Ward and Herbert Spencer, the influence of the German universities, and the "practical need for exact knowledge of actual social conditions and workable methods of perfecting the social organization and controlling ameliorative agencies."[10] The first course to bear the name of sociology was taught by William Graham Sumner at Yale in 1875-76. Sumner, though the father of American Social Darwinism, was not praised for his effort. It was not until 1885 that Indiana University offered the first "entirely separate" course bearing the title of sociology. Finally, in 1892 the University of Chicago became the first institution of higher learning to establish a separate department of sociology.[11]

Despite this growing acceptance, however, sociology was far from being considered respectable: "It produced a new and barbarous terminology going very often far beyond what was necessary for accurate expression and frequently the intrinsically trivial subject matters were unredeemed by connection with any important problems."[12] The earlier social scientists had combined reformism with a strong desire to apply scientific principles to an understanding of the individual in society. Few, if any, of the early writers came to the subject out of mere intellectual curiosity. Lester Ward (1841-1913), considered by many to be the father of American sociology, prefaced his famous Dynamic Sociology with a declaration of commitment to social progress. "My thesis is that the subject matter of sociology is human achievement. It is not what men are but what they do,"[13] that needs to be studied.

By the turn of the century, however, there was a significant split between those who saw social science[14] as a movement to use science to better people's lives and those who were principally concerned with the development of scientific theory. The first group went on to become leading reformers and social workers; the second joined the ranks of academic sociology. Among this latter group the "descriptive passion," as Shils called it, was strong:

> Enthusiasm about first-hand contact with human beings or with data reporting the activities of human beings--an indispensable condition for the development of sociology--did not often become associated with the equally necessary enthusiasm to test important hypotheses.[15]

This need to do original research and to abandon the armchair led to a preoccupation with methodology. The first academically-trained sociologists, armed with the techniques of statistics and the case study, were eager to lay hold of concrete reality and to describe, classify, and catalogue it in all its bewildering variety. Earlier research was mainly historical and statistical. With the invention of correlation by Francis Galton in the 1880s, it was becoming increasingly possible to subject ever more complicated social facts to determinate, scientific measurement. After the early 1900s, the historical method gradually slipped out of favor and was replaced by statistical analysis and the case study.

> It was characteristic of these studies that they were not motivated by a central scientific problem or by any clearly-defined hypothesis. They represented simply an attempt "to see the life of the community as a whole" in all its concreteness.[16]

The above quote is important for two reasons. First, it was this climate of methodological zeal which influenced the earliest research on "participation in adult education" (PAE). To call such research "descriptive," which is now the vogue, is to condemn it, whereas at that time it would have been to accord it the highest honor; it would have meant studies undertaken within the most rigorous standards of scientific objectivity. Second, sociologists' eagerness to study the whole community influenced the earliest PAE surveys, suggesting that to be properly understood, as both a practical and theoretical problem, PAE had to be seen in terms of a matrix of forces. Undoubtedly, some of these forces were educational, but many more were of a social, political, and economic nature which had little to do with education, as such, and much more to do with the way society translated itself, its power, and priorities down to the community level and through the community to the individuals who were its members. It is this second factor which is missing from most recent approaches to the "question" of PAE and which this study was partly designed to redress.

SOCIOLOGY AND THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Because social science first took hold in the newer universities of the Midwest and in major metropolitan areas such as New York, it was natural that "urban sociology" and the "community study" should become the "two leading lines of development of research and speculation".[17] We find this emphasis on urbanism and community life in some of the better known introductory textbooks of the time, e.g., Robert McIver's (1937) Society (for whom sociology was the "relationships of social beings as they cohere into systems and as they change in response to all the conditions that affect human life"), and Park and Burgess' (1924) Science of Society. We find it also in the ground-breaking empirical studies of the time, e.g., the Lynd's (1929) Middletown, and Lundberg, Komarovsky, and McInerny's (1934) Leisure: A Suburban Study.

A theme running through both urban and community studies was that of 'social participation' in all its many and varied forms. Whole communities were subject to scrutiny--churches, rural life, professional associations, trade unions, and immigrant populations were described and classified, as were the various aspects of cultural and artistic life, and even the affairs of government--everything from the most formally organized structures to the most informal type of family and casual interaction.

The concept of social participation first appeared in the academic literature in C. R. Henderson's "The Place and Function of Voluntary Associations," published in the first issue of the American Journal of Sociology in 1895.[18] As if to confirm its commitment to this issue, the editorial stated: "In our age the fact of human association is more obtrusive and relatively more influential than in any previous epoch."[19] Moreover, the net was cast very widely, for participation could be linked conceptually with the most intransigent problems of the world polity as in Lemmert's (1943) "Social Participation and Total War" or with highest forms of abstraction as in Boodin's (1921) "The Law of Social Participation."[20]

Social participation research must be judged against this backdrop of opposition between science and reform, between science for political purposes versus science for disinterested ends. In its earliest phase the reformist tendency was strong. It is evident in many of the early works on social participation, including those of Queen, Chapin, and Anderson in the 1930s and 1940s. Here obstacles to social participation were symptoms of "Social Pathology," the title of an important study by Queen and Gruener, published in 1941. The subject of the latter was the wide variation in the extent of participation among American adults: There were firstly, real "joiners" who were involved with a variety of organizations and activities; secondly, those for whom informal friendship networks, but not formal organizations, were a significant aspect of their lives; and thirdly, a minority who were veritable recluses. For Queen, the "social problem" dimension to social participation had to do, not merely with the lack of involvement in community life by those who were otherwise able to participate, but with actual impediments to participation by those who otherwise were interested, e.g., the physically impaired.

The proliferation of research on social relationships and community life must also be understood, naturally enough, against the backdrop of immigration which, between the late 1800s and America's entry into the First World War, brought to these shores larger numbers of foreigners than had ever come before. Sociologists were interested in these new groups--how they assimilated, how they changed--and in the associations and media they created to help them adjust to their new home while keeping their own culture alive. It is important also to bear in mind that much of the institutional history of adult education in this century grew out of the movement to "Americanize" the immigrant.[21]

SOCIOLOGY AND ADULT EDUCATION THEORY

One can find the influence of sociological methodology on the earliest research in adult education more than one can find the influence of contemporary sociological thinking and its sense of social problems. And where it exists, that influence attests to an intriguing overlap between the concerns of the new social sciences and the form adult education was beginning to take in the period between the Great War and the onset of the Depression. Ozanne, for example, grouped PAE surveys which had been undertaken up to 1934 into three categories: there was the "institutional survey" which was limited to listing the agencies offering adult education in a given area; a "student analysis" survey, which went beyond that and looked at participants and their motives; and a (poorly labeled) "socio-economic" survey whose "objective has been to study the community itself in order to discover what the educational needs and potentialities of its adult population are".[22] It was this latter survey which bore the signs of sociological thinking, for it went beyond merely enumerative and client analyses and attempted a more comprehensive understanding of the community itself and how it functioned.

For example, the first comprehensive and systematic survey of PAE in the United States was undertaken with the larger community in mind. Frank Lorimer, a sociologist,[23] was commissioned by the Board of Adult Education to survey the borough of Brooklyn and study its provisions for adult education. This should have been the "institutional" survey as defined by Ozanne. However, as the study progressed,

> It became apparent that it is impossible to make an adequate general study of the place of education in the lives of adults in a modern city without attending to the *whole interplay of economic, cultural and social factors in the development of individual personalities* [emphasis added].[24]

Lorimer's language and its context evoked the kind of rhetoric sociologists were employing to justify the large-scale studies then beginning to proliferate in the U.S. It is in the studies which predate and set the stage for Middletown. It is in Warner's Yankee City, whose field work was conducted between 1930 and 1935.

Lorimer's study is also unique in the research annals for its attempt to correlate PAE with other forms of educational and cultural expression: reading and library habits, readership of 'quality' newspapers and magazines, artistic interests, concert, theater and museum attendance, and radio preferences. Though explicable in terms of contemporary community studies, this orientation is largely lost in current attempts to explore and explain PAE. A similar set of intentions motivated Kaplan's study of Springfield, Massachusetts during 1943 and 1944. He too went beyond mere PAE to study these other forms of cultural expression and, like Lorimer, to find relationships between one kind of sociocultural activity, e.g., PAE, and another, e.g., museum and library attendance.

The influence of sociology, however, went beyond methodology and theoretical orientation. It suffused the justificatory discourse within which the study is situated. Lorimer, for example, began his discussion with a contrast between traditional, more stable ways of life, and modern society with its characteristics of rapid change and complexity. There was much talk of the challenge of technology, the "terrific strain" put on the modern adult mind by "our economic and social organization" which involves "unprecedented dangers, wars, cycles of expansion and depression, and social conflicts."[25] Moreover, modern individuals were also faced with unprecedented economic and cultural choices; and it was important that they be educated to make these choices wisely and in ways which promoted community as well as individual welfare.

The survival and defense of democracy naturally made their appearance also.[26] Quoting Alvin Johnson to echo a sentiment typical of its day, Kaplan wrote:

> In the long run, stability together with progress is not possible except under essentially democratic conditions. But we cannot have real democracy unless we have political intelligence and common ideals. We cannot have intelligence and common ideals without adult education.[27]

As he conceived and justified it, Kaplan's survey of the capital of Massachusetts was an attempt to study democracy at work in the lives and social activities of individual men and women.

Contemporary sociologists who included adult education within their list of concerns interpreted its mission along similar lines. Lundberg, Komarovsky, and McInerny (1934), for example, have a chapter in their ground-breaking study of leisure patterns in a New York suburb which begins with the case for adult education. The importance of adult education, as they saw it, grew largely "as a result of the increasing tempo of social change."[28] Their language continued in a vein which suggests that little has changed in the rhetoric which defends the necessity of adult education to this day. In traditional societies, the argument continued, we could count on the knowledge needed to live and work remaining current for most of our working lives. Today (in the 1930s) this was not the case. Knowledge became obsolete quickly, and the changing pace of industrialization made it more important than ever that adults learn how to learn.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the sociological tendency is in the writings of Edmund De Schweinitz Brunner, principal author of the first anthology of adult education research, published in 1959. Born in 1889, Brunner spent much of his professional life as a professor of sociology at Columbia University. Throughout his career he wrote prolifically in the area of religious and rural sociology. He became director of the (Rockefeller) Institute of Social and Religious Research in 1921, and during his tenure the institute published extensively in the area of community and village sociology, to which Brunner himself contributed a number of volumes.[29] It was through Brunner that John Newberry came to write the draft chapter on participation for the Overview of Adult Education Research, published in 1959. Newberry was a sociologist by training, and most of the literature reviewed for that chapter seems first to have appeared in Newberry's dissertation, a study of voluntary associations. Newberry continued his affiliation with adult education when he authored a paper on participation with Coolie Verner, for a collection published in 1965. Many of the same references appear in both the original chapter and the collaboration with Verner. Some of these very same references can be found in PAE studies written by other authors at about the same time.

A possibly more intriguing crossover between the interests of sociologists and adult educators can be found outside of the area of PAE. Most students of the field are aware of C. Hartley Grattan and his history of adult education. Less well-known is the fact that the study of Australia was the first love of this free-lance writer turned academic; his interest in adult education came later. Grattan attended Clark College, where he studied with Harry Elmer Barnes, sociologist, noted dissident, and author of the influential work, *An Introduction to the History of Sociology*. Grattan left Clark College in 1923 and went to work for H. L. Menken, editor of the *American Mercury*. Later he worked at the Carnegie Corporation for Frederick Keppel, who is credited with starting the AAAE. Grattan's specialty at the time was Australian studies. Still later, he became a professor at the University of Texas.

Barnes renewed his friendship with his erstwhile student and helped Grattan publish, *Why We Fought*, which supported Barnes's view criticizing American entry into the Great War. Intriguingly, this paper appeared in an anthology edited by Barnes and titled, *In Quest of Truth and Justice*. Grattan's history of adult education, the first of its kind, was of course titled, *In Quest of Knowledge*.

No work has yet been done on the influences which expressed themselves in Grattan's history, given that he had no model on which to rely and no previous account against which to react. However, we can infer some of these influences by comparing similar ideas. A significant one was the emphasis on diffusion of knowledge which is expressed most eloquently in the writings of Lester Ward, and whom Grattan later excerpted for his *American Ideas About Adult Education*.

AN ASSESSMENT OF INFLUENCE

This study grew out of concerns about the "pedigree" of the problem of participation within adult education theory. Here the focus was on the historical dimensions of that pedigree. Two questions arise in this regard, one concerning methodology, the second concerning theory and interpretation. On the first question, my attempt to establish an intertwining between sociology and adult education theory has been based on a selection of primary research sources. However, even given my contention that there was much more research of a "reflective nature" than has ordinarily been ascribed to that period, nevertheless the sample is small and open to other interpretations. While I may invoke Webster Cotton[30] to support the position taken in this paper, I invite colleagues who have studied contemporary professional journals of adult education to join this discussion and present their positions.

Of greater importance to me, however, is the question of interpretation. What are we to make of the influence of sociology on adult education theory during the formative period of modern adult education and does this issue have relevance for us today? I raise this question though historians often, and quite rightly, shudder at the "relevance" shibboleth, because it is important in the context of this conference and what may come of it.

On the issue of interpretation, Fisher (1983) has advanced the thesis that philanthropic foundations are designed to "maintain the social order rather than to alter it." Furthermore, according to Fisher, before and during the period covered by this study, roughly from the first decade of this century until the Second World War, certain foundations were important in the "production and reproduction of cultural hegemony." Finally, to understand the emergence of paradigms and the socialization of academics and intellectuals, a "critical conflict" rather than "developmental" or "Kuhnian" model is needed.[31] While Fisher's analysis and perspective take us beyond the scope of the present study, it ought to be considered for two major reasons. First, critical conflict models are largely absent from adult education history, despite their obvious relevance. Second, much of the interpretative history of the AAAE (e.g., Rockhill) could benefit from Fisher's framework.

Fisher has made the argument that philanthropic foundations, standing between the classes and the social uncertainty of the new century, helped shape the new order and restore faith in capitalism. In so doing, institutions like the Rockefeller Foundation laid the groundwork for the emergence of a professional, technically-trained cadre of intellectuals who were generally more interested in studying social problems than in solving them. These were the new social scientists and they became, according to Fisher's argument, supporters of the status quo, especially when that support was needed most, after the onset of the Depression.

It would not be hard to find, as in the case of Brunner and Grattan, evidence for this thesis as applied to adult education. Brunner's work benefitted from support of the Rockefeller Foundation, while Grattan worked at the Carnegie Foundation at a crucial point in adult education history. This being the case, we ought not then be surprised that sociology might have been an important, though overlooked, source of influence on adult education because both adult education and the newly forming social sciences shared the same supporting factors: a) powerful capitalists, anxious to preserve their wealth by preserving the world order which had made it possible; and b) philanthropic foundations through which they channeled their concerns. Thus, it is not so much that sociology influenced adult education theory as that sociology and adult education "benefitted" from certain social and political forces which set them in motion at the same time and gave them their justificatory discourse and hegemonically-oriented agenda.

Though beyond the scope of the data presented here, the precise form taken by the new social sciences had much to do with an emergent middle class, its close identification with professionalism as the best kind of occupation (and a substitute for the religious vocation?), and the solution of social problems by objective and scientific, rather than political or religious, means. If this is so, then contemporary attitudes towards adult education and its role in society would have smacked of the same concerns. It would not then be so much a question of whether sociology influenced adult education and how this influence was realized, but more a question of how adult education and social science, in this early phase, were part of a larger social project influenced by Progressivism, by the emergence of the middle class and the professions, and by the desire to have social problems analyzed and "solved" while maintaining the status quo.

NOTES

1. It is interesting that the importance of the AAAE is underlined in the only two full-length histories of the adult education movement in the United States, those of Knowles and Grattan, and that both men had associations with that organization. Knowles was executive director of the Association from 1951 to 1959. Less well-known is the fact that C. Hartley Grattan worked for Keppel at the Carnegie Corporation at the time the foundation was considering setting up the AAAE. Newer histories by Rockhill, Stubblefield, and Rose (see below) are re-examining the role of Carnegie in the early years of the AAAE's existence.

2. While the first doctorate in adult education is usually associated with Columbia University and the year of that event given as 1935, the first dissertations with the adult 'mind' or adult education as their principal focus go back, at least, to 1918 and a study by Cecial Cheverton at Boston University (Comprehensive Dissertation Index, 1861-1972, Education volume, p. 198).

3. J. Ozanne, *Regional Surveys of Adult Education* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1934).

4. Despite this interest, however, less than 20% of published work on the subject of 'social participation' appeared in sociology journals up to the 1950s, while over half of all research on this subject was published between 1950 and 1959. These calculations are derived from J. Edwards and A. Booth, *Social Participation in Urban Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1973).

5. S. Courtney, "Visible Learning: Adult Education and the Question of Participation" (Ed.D. diss., Northern Illinois University, 1984);
S. Courtney, *Why Adults Learn: Towards a Theory of Participation in Adult Education* (London: Routledge, in press). Those references provide a further elaboration of the genesis of participation research and its connections with adult education.

6. L. L. Bernard, "Some Historical and Recent Trends of Sociology in the United States," *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* 9 (December 1928): 265.

7. Ibid., 266.

8. Ibid., 267.

9. L. L. Bernard and J. Bernard, *Origins of American Sociology: The Social Science Movement in the United States* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1943), 846.

10. F. L. Tolman, "The Study of Sociology in the Institutions of Learning in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 7 (1902): 797.

11. Bernard, "Some Historical and Recent Trends," 272, 281.

12. E. Shils, *The Present State of American Sociology* (New York: The Free Press, 1948), 2.

13. H. E. Barnes, ed., *An Introduction to the History of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 174.

14. Social science was then defined to include economics, sociology, and political science. See D. Fisher, "The Role of Philanthropic Foundations in the Reproduction and Production of Hegemony: Rockefeller Foundations and the Social Sciences," Sociology (the journal of the British Sociological Association) 17 (May 1983): 210.

15. Shils, The Present State of American Sociology, 2.

16. Ibid., 8.

17. Ibid., 7.

18. Henderson headed the department of Ecclesiastical Sociology, one of the two branches into which the independent department of sociology later split, at the University of Chicago (Bernard, 1928, p. 281).

19. American Journal of Sociology, I (1895): 1.

20. J. E. Boodin, "The Law of Social Participation, "American Sociological Review 27 (1921): 22-53; E.M. Lemmert, "Social Participation and Total War," American Sociological Review 8 (1943): 531-36.

21. B. Clark, Adult Education in Transition: A Case of Institutional Insecurity (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1972).

22. Ozanne, Regional Surveys, 8.

23. F. Lorimer, The Making of Minds in a Metropolitan Area (New York: Macmillan, 1931), foreword. Lorimer was formerly a lecturer in social theory at Wellsley College.

24. Ibid., 11.

25. Ibid., 3.

26. The issue of democracy and its defense as 'symbolic legitimation' of adult education is addressed by Rockhill in R. Taylor, K. Rockhill, and R. Fieldhouse, University Adult Education in England and the USA (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

27. A. Kaplan, Socioeconomic Circumstances and Adult Participation (New York: Teachers College, 1943), 1.

28. G. Lundberg, M. Komarovsky, and M. McInerny, Leisure: A Suburban Study (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 307.

29. See the 1958 edition of *Current Biography*, p. 668. A native of Pennsylvania, Brunner was also President of the Rural Sociological Society, 1945 and member of the prestigious Sociological Research Association, 1950.

30. W. Cotton, *On Behalf of Adult Education: A Historical Examination of the Supporting Literature* (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, no. 56).

31. Fisher, "The Role of Philanthropic Foundations," 206-7.

EARLY INTERPRETATIONS OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

Patrick Keane

Some current perceptions of education for occupational groups start with a basic level emphasizing the remediation of skill and/or knowledge deficiencies and then progress to higher levels involving both occupational and personal growth (Scanlan, 1985). However, the latter goal of personal enhancement, unrelated to one's occupation, seems to attract only token recognition, particularly for blue collar workers. Indeed, workers' education or labor education has been defined as "the attempt to meet workers' educational needs as they arise from participation in unions" (Rogin, 1970, p. 301). Since the majority of workers are not unionized, and even union members have educational needs not circumscribed by such membership, one is tempted to consider "union education" as a more appropriate label for such activities. The academic field of labor studies has likewise been dominated by the preparation of union leaders, although here broader ideological, remedial, and cultural issues have also found a place in the programs. The advent of white collar unions in professionalizing occupations has similarly clouded the perception of who is a "worker." Other educational labels such as "vocational," "professional," "adult," and "continuing" serve alternately to demarcate and to obfuscate an enterprise interpreted by some as peripheral, and by others as central in our modern learning society. One is, therefore, tempted to look to preindustrial and early industrial society, to search for interpretations uncomplicated by the multiplicity of educational provision in our fast-changing pluralistic societies. Specifically, we will consider some interpretations spanning the period from classical Greece to the early 19th century, using later interpretations from Britain and North America. These may serve to identify some lost opportunities or merely to identify interpretations constrained by time and space. Santayana contended that by ignoring the past we are condemned to repeat it. If many workers continue to define their world with little recourse to "workers' education," then perhaps we have not learned from the past.

While the classical Greeks may have been exemplars of democracy, Plato and Aristotle distinguished between a liberal education intended for a governing class, and a vocational education or training intended for tradespeople or slaves (Barker, 1952; Guthrie, 1956). While a class system was to be based on merit, the influence of heredity was recognized in Plato's Republic. The rulers were born with gold in their composition, their auxiliaries with silver, and the artisans with brass and iron. Plato went beyond current Athenian practice in according responsibility for education to the state and proposing equal access for women. Some class mobility was assumed, but beyond some mention in the Laws, little attention was devoted to what we may interpret as workers' education. Plato wrote, "that other sort of training, which aims at the acquisition of wealth or bodily strength, or mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice, is mean and illiberal, and is not worthy to be called education at all" (England, 1921, I, p. 644). The focus was on an ideal of liberal education for a governing class assumed to have all the intelligence of the community. Similarly, Aristotle in his Politics, distinguished between a liberal education suited to free citizens and an education suited to those destined for mechanical occupations (Barker, 1952). While the rulers were to provide their auxiliaries aged 20 to 35 with an education in mathematics, astronomy, and logic preparatory to the study of philosophy, the workers were judged incapable of intellectual stimulation and uninterested in the pursuit of knowledge. Both free craftworkers (whom Aristotle would have deprived of citizenship) and slaves were thus to receive only a limited technical or vocational education, intended to render them efficient producers. Such education was suited both to assumptions of their mental capacity and to the belief that "Any employment which is pursued for the sake of gain . . . keeps men's minds too much and too meanly occupied" (Barker, 1952, p. 334 [Greek text VIII 1337 b. ss 5]). Greek thought thus emphasized an antithesis between culture and utility which implied a contempt for manual work and for the education of those who performed it. Conversely, both Greece and Rome developed intense pride in their public and private construction projects, and craft guilds became integral units of Roman civic administration (Jones, 1964).

Such attitudes were long to influence Western notions of workers' education as a circumscribed form of training for a subordinate social class. There were indeed some early attempts to give a new dignity to labor and to associate it with an education which recognized the humanity of those who performed it. St. Benedict of Nursia instituted a 6th-century monastic rule which combined labor and learning (McCann, 1952), while in 1516 Sir Thomas More's Utopia (Book II) idealized the same combination.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, in 1762, devoted exhaustive attention to a well-rounded and demanding education for his prospective carpenter, Emile (Ballinger, 1965; Boyd, 1962). However, as long as social, economic, or political conditions determined that workers' education was to be interpreted from the standpoints of employers, consumers, or governments, its nature was to remain circumscribed by essentially utilitarian considerations. The importance of such education was apparent in the embracing legislation of Elizabethan England (Statute of Apprentices, 1563) which prescribed a mandatory period of at least seven years apprenticeship for entry to all the skilled trades then in existence. Intended to insure competence and provide career monopolies in fields as diverse as medicine and shipbuilding, the legislation served also as a measure of social stability by supplementing skill training with moral and religious supervision. Although often circumvented, the apprenticeship system expanded and was introduced into the North American colonies. Thus, William Penn's Frame of Government provided for all to be "taught some useful trade or skill, to the end none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want" (Morris, 1946, p. 4). The alternative to an educated worker was thus seen as an idle, unemployed, and probably dangerous one, hence the many aphorisms on utility in 18th-century almanacs. The value of educated workers was evident in the competing British and colonial policies toward their migration, and in the colonies' success in their aggressive recruitment. Thus, in 1768 the army commander, Major General Thomas Gage, lamented that while many of them "embark for America [we] can't discover where they land" (Morris, 1946, p. 24).

The educational component of apprenticeship was very uneven, with many early agreements stressing practical, on-the-job instruction, rather than literacy or numeracy. However, such practical instruction was supplemented by formal schooling in medicine as early as Hellenistic Greece (Marrou, 1982), in law in 3rd century A.D. Rome (Marrou, 1982), and in architecture and engineering in 4th century A.D. Rome (Barlow, 1967). Indeed, in the later Roman Empire, "surveyors (*geometra*), engineers (*mechanici*) and architects were also professional men belonging to the upper ranks of society" (Jones, 1964, p. 1013). When the Emperor Constantine offered scholarships to prospective architects, "he stipulated that candidates should be of about 18 years of age and should already have received a liberal education"

(Jones, 1964, p. 1013). This enhanced interpretation of educational needs applied only to a select number of professionalizing occupations which were deemed to require a theoretical knowledge base beyond that provided in the apprenticeship system. Even apprenticeship to other highly skilled trades was long to be regarded as a privilege limited to parents possessing a certain amount of property and able to pay a substantial premium for the education imparted. However, in balancing the preservation of the status quo with the needs of their economies, "the colonies differed from the mother country in their refusal to impose property qualifications" for apprenticeship training (Morris, 1946, p. 22). They seem to have differed also in showing a greater readiness to identify some general education in that training. Thus, John Maisters of York County, Maine was fortunate that his 1674 apprenticeship agreement provided that:

> The said maister his sd apprentice shall teach and instruct in the trade of a carpenter, to the best of his skill, according to what his apprentice is capable of, and alsoe doe promiss to teach him to write and siffer if hee bee capable. (Morris, 1946, p. 366)

Even early trade schools did not necessarily identify any general education in their curriculum. Thus, Bishop Laval opened such schools in Quebec City and nearby St. Joachim in 1668. Their program was identified as cabinetmaking, carpentry, masonry, roofing, shoemaking, tailoring, and "sculpture and painting was both a trade and an art" (Phillips, 1957, p. 20). Instruction in agriculture was given also to boys on a model farm at nearby Cap Tourmente, while girls were enabled to learn domestic spinning, weaving, and household skills. Similarly, in 1757 the Moravian Church established a trade school in Nazareth, Pennsylvania. In it, instruction in the 3Rs supplemented a curriculum of blacksmithing, gunsmithing, locksmithing, weaving, carpentry, and masonry. Its educational philosophy was reflected in its assignment of church members, "automatically and dogmatically" to learn these trades (Bridenbaugh, 1964, p. 131). Stronger ties with traditional education were reflected in the endowment funds of some English grammar schools. Here students had the option of applying for either college tuition scholarships or apprenticeship fees on completion of their schooling (Carlisle, 1818, I). This educational model emphasized the scope of opportunities available to a favored few who entered the work force. It also highlighted the inadequacies of the often nominal instruction given to male and female, pauper or orphaned apprentices in British industrial towns, Southern tobacco centers, or Upper Canadian frontier districts. One study has concluded that "south of Philadelphia, less stress was placed on general education for apprentices" (Morris, 1946, p. 381). There were, however, the growing opportunities provided by evening lectures and evening schools, which served the double function of not interfering with the working day and not highlighting the educational limitations of many employers. Thus, in 18th century Britain, a host of new ventures was launched to popularize the new scientific knowledge. These included not only short courses of public lectures but "evening classes for mechanics and craftsmen," in such cities as Salford, Newcastle, and London (Hans, 1951, p. 158). In London in 1789 Peter Nicholson, an architect, "established an evening school for carpenters and mechanics, where he taught applied mathematics and published textbooks for carpenters and builders" (Hans, 1951, p. 158). Similarly, in late 18th century Halifax, Nova Scotia, apprentices were encouraged to enroll in evening schools offering instruction in "reading, writing, arithmetic, architecture, bookkeeping, dialing, gauging, mathematics and navigation." By 1805 this selection had increased to include also "geography with the use of globes, geometry, trigonometry, altimetry, longimetry, mensuration, surveying on a modern and highly improved plan . . . gnomics, natural philosophy, astronomy, elocution, composition, etc." (Keane, 1975, p. 258). In the United States, research suggests that the early growth of evening schools was largely attributable to educational needs and interests which could not be met within the apprenticeship system (Seybolt, 1971). Here, particularly in the north, colonial indentures came to specify attendance at evening school, and to identify whether the employer or parent was responsible for payment of the school fees.

While colonial workers were able to profit socially and economically from a relative scarcity of skilled labor, British workers were more susceptible to long-standing, upper-class inhibitions about educating "the lower orders." Attitudes, of course, differed widely, as between the aristocratic seigniorial class of Quebec, the merchant class of cosmopolitan and prosperous Philadelphia, or the gentry of the southern planting colonies. Constraints were readily apparent in such matters as gender or race. Thus, in both North America and Britain, such trades as weaving or spinning were open to women, in addition to the traditional sewing, knitting, and housewifery. Less traditional female occupations were often the result of widows inheriting their husband's business or, as with Benjamin Franklin, an absent husband's trade being plied temporarily by a wife. Indians and blacks seem to have been often apprenticed in New England and New York, with the knowledge gained serving as a "transitional stage to complete emancipation" for the latter. In the South, both slaves and free blacks might be apprenticed, with the system being judged "an important factor in the economic life of the free Negro in the antebellum South" (Morris, 1946, p. 388). The particular scrutiny of the education and training provided for those most disadvantaged workers emphasized that economic considerations played only one part in determining the scope of such education. On either side of the Atlantic, views of workers and their education tended to be influenced substantially by preindustrial concepts of "rank" or "estate" of education being appropriate to one's "station in life" (Hobsbawn, 1984, Ch. 2). Thus, tories in London or New York would doubtless have commiserated with Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, when in 1744 he told Dr. Alexander Hamilton that the New Jersey House of Assembly was full of "mechanics and ignorant wretches, obstinate to the last degree" (Bridenbaugh, 1964, p. 155). The American Board of Customs Commissioners similarly complained in 1768 of town meetings at which "the lowest mechanics discuss upon the most important points of government, with the utmost freedom" (Morris, 1946, p. 52). The views of skilled workers who joined the Baltimore Whig Club led a critic in 1777 to ask "how a man who was only fit to patch a shoe could have the temerity to attempt to patch the state" (Morris, 1946, p. 53). That some interpreted the education of workers as suiting them only "to patch a shoe" reflected the centuries-old distinction between liberal education and vocational education. It also ignored the fact that many workers had identified and met educational needs beyond those interpreted by their employers. Such aspirations were influenced by the opportunities for upward mobility. Beyond those who sought the security of independent farming, the ranks descended from skilled free artisans hoping to become small employers, to the unskilled free workers and, in America, the skilled and unskilled indentured workers, and the skilled and unskilled slaves. Attributions of ignorance, obstinacy, and temerity were particularly resented by the economically privileged but socially underprivileged skilled workers, generically termed "mechanics."

Such social distinctions influenced the separate development of medical, legal, and theological education, even under a continuing apprenticeship tradition in colonial North America (Chroust, 1965; Shewmaker, 1921; Shryock, 1960). However, even lower-ranking workers on both sides of the Atlantic had demonstrated an interest in an education not circumscribed by its economic utility. Much of this was gained informally in coffee houses and clubs, or derived from newspapers and books by a relatively affluent elite of skilled-trades people and mechanics. They were better able to identify common interests than the mass of the illiterate and unskilled laboring poor. Indeed, this small elite were often as anxious to interpret their rank in relation to the unskilled workers as to their employers. A confidence in their own abilities saw a group of London weavers establish the Spitalfields Mathematical Society as early as 1717 (Cawthorne, 1929). Based on the principle of "friends educating each other," they established a collection of apparatus and decided to embark on a study of the new scientific discoveries, for which established educational institutions were making little if any provision. Ten years later, Benjamin Franklin initiated a comparable venture in Philadelphia, with his Junto (Labaree et al., 1964). This time, a group, largely of skilled workers, undertook to define and implement their own educational program, ranging over the fields of morals, politics, and natural philosophy. Both groups and many others who followed their lead in North America and Britain testified to a commitment to a broader interpretation of workers' education than their social superiors considered appropriate.

By the early 19th century the twin impact of science and democracy highlighted the constraints of earlier interpretations of workers' education. Britain's early Industrial Revolution had created opportunities for innovation and advancement that all but overwhelmed the traditional apprenticeship system, while creating social and political tensions that invited reform or revolution. In revolutionary America it had become fashionable to idealize the "virtuous mechanic," and indeed the Declaration of Independence included the signatures of Benjamin Franklin, printer; George Walton, carpenter; and Roger Sherman, cordwainer. Nevertheless, Thomas Jefferson was to describe "artificers as the panders of vice, and the instruments by which the liberties of the country are generally overturned" (Rayback, 1959, p. 64). Even in Jacksonian America, labor leaders baulked at continuing references to "the 'swinish multitude,' 'the lower classes,' 'the mob,' and 'all the baser epithets'" (Pessen, 1967 p. 115). Workers, whether British or North American, grew increasingly resentful of the imputations of ignorance, and tended to accord education a definite role in their plans for social, economic, and political reform. Self-help to transform the conditions of life and learning was apparent among new settlers in Upper Canada in 1800. At Niagara they had resolved to contribute $4 annually, "sensible how much we are at a loss in this new and remote country for every kind of useful knowledge, and convinced that nothing would be of more use to diffuse knowledge among us and our offspring than a library . . ." (Hardy, 1912, p. 27). Self-help was equally apparent among British weavers in Lancashire and Yorkshire, of whom E. P. Thompson (1968) concluded that:

> There was certainly a leaven . . . of self educated and articulate men of considerable attainments. Every weaving district had its weaver poets, biologists, mathematicians, musicians, geologists, botanists . . . weavers in isolated villages who taught themselves geometry by chalking on their flagstones, and who were eager to discuss the differential calculus . . . a book could actually be propped on the loom and read at work. (p. 322)

In the Philadelphia Workingmen's Party of 1828, and others that followed it, free and universal education was demanded, including an improved curriculum, less reliance on rote learning, and better qualified and paid teachers (Jackson, 1942). While concerned mainly with the education of the next generation, some labor leaders went on to urge self-improvement among their members. Indeed, such New York labor leaders as George Henry Evans and Robert Dale Owen even placed education at the top of their reform agenda (Pessen, 1967). Such agendas were debated widely, as at the 1830 New York Working Men's Party Convention, which even attracted delegates from Ontario (Pessen, 1967). Owen agreed with Frances Wright, the vigorous champion of women's rights, that "until equality be planted in the mind, in the habits, in the manners, in the feelings, think not it ever can be in the conditions" (Pessen, 1967, p. 70). Education for self-fulfillment or empowerment marked a significant departure from the moral and vocational interpretations of the apprenticeship system. Skilled workers might continue to argue for better and stricter apprenticeships and indeed that system continued to prosper, formally and informally, in some trades (Mulligan, 1986). Nevertheless, their horizons had long since broadened beyond skill training, and as in Cincinnati, they were now also seeking "improvements in the arts and sciences" (Pessen, 1967, p. 22). However, even in the factory system eulogized by Harriet Martineau and others at the Lowell textile mills, the labor leader Seth Luther argued that their 13-hour day rendered it "impossible to attend to education among children, or even to improvement among adults" (Luther, 1836, p. 17). Such "improvement" was however an integral part of many workers' aspirations, even if its nature had yet to be determined with any precision.

It was partly in reaction to workers' interests that a major international education movement was launched under middle-class auspices. This was the mechanics' institute movement that originated in the early 19th century and found a congenial home in Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Its initial primary purpose was to graft onto the essentially practical instruction received by skilled workers a knowledge of the emerging sciences, so as to render the workers more efficient and inventive. London Mechanics' Institution, which was to serve as something of an international model, specified that "the object proposed is the instruction of the members in the principles of the arts they practice, and in the various branches of science and useful knowledge" (Place, 1823, p. 269). Beyond this explicit objective lay the heated controversies among early promoters. Radicals had sought a program exclusively determined by, and financed by, workers themselves, but had been outmaneuvered by others who accepted the proclaimed community of interests with employers. Implicit in the final objective was, therefore, an adherence to the prevailing middle-class ethic of frugality, temperance, disciplined hard work, and utility, rather than the support of an artisan culture recognizing diversity, conflict, and social pluralism. Even a utilitarian education for skilled workers was a compromise among the establishment. To some conservative fears that any systematic educational programs would prove seditious were added religious misgivings that a secular and scientific education lacked the moral context of apprenticeship training. Thus, in St. John, New Brunswick, one lecturer felt obligated to refute the charge that institutes were "degenerating into mere training schools for revolutionary democrats and proving [to be] the hotbeds of infidelity" (Galloway, 1844, p. 7). While the impact of these programs was to be as varied as local resources and constraints would allow, the fundamental interpretations of their promoters showed the continuing influence of Plato and Aristotle.

In this sense, the evening schools of the 18th century had anticipated the mechanics' institutes, although the pace and public awareness of scientific and technological change had since increased substantially. Workers in both Britain and North America had demonstrated a growing interest in the "marvels of science," although often for more discursive reasons than immediate practical application. Such reasons formed part of their evolving concern with social, economic, and political reform, in which education was already perceived as potentially supportive or potentially restrictive. Indeed, it has been argued that "American labor thought was so akin to English radicalism of the period, it would appear that the old notion of American uniqueness would have to be modified, at least for the Jacksonian era" (Pessen, 1967, p. 197). Thus, while the unskilled poor on both sides of the Atlantic responded hesitantly to the proffered literacy programs, the skilled workers and apprentices showed much initial enthusiasm for the more ambitious programs of the mechanics' institutes. The depth and breadth of long unmet needs and interests were reflected in their attraction to programs embracing a library, a museum, scientific demonstrations and experiments, lectures, and evening classes on subjects ranging from architecture to chemistry, bookkeeping to mathematics, and modern languages to technical drawing. The story was repeated from Glasgow, Scotland to Montreal, Quebec; from Boston, Massachusetts to San Francisco, California. However, some labor leaders resented the institutes' general exclusion of politics and economics from their programs, arguing that the education of workers should reflect their multiple roles in society, not simply that of being producers or employees. The radical editors of the London Mechanics' Magazine contended in 1823 that:

> Men had better be without education than be educated by their rulers; for then education is but the mere breaking in of the steer to the yoke; the mere discipline of the hunting dog. (Robertson, pp. 99-102)

Some conservative reformers were likewise to criticize the narrow equation of workers' education with 'useful knowledge.' Thus, Dr. Thomas Arnold urged institute members:

> Let us not delude ourselves into supposing that the diffusion of useful knowledge is genuine adult education. Neither science nor literature

> alone can instruct the judgement--only moral and religious knowledge can do this. (Arnold, 1845, p. 423)

Yet another mechanics' institute president, Charles Dickens, wrote scathingly of attempts to delimit workers' education in terms of their employment, rather than their broader personal interests in the wider world. He illustrated the point by reference to a fictional institute library with its:

> painfully apologetic return of 62 offenders who had read Travels, Popular Biography, and mere Fiction descriptive of the aspirations of the hearts and souls of mere human creatures like themselves; and such an elaborate parade of 2 bright examples who had had down Euclid after the day's occupation and confinement; and 3 who had had down Metaphysics after ditto; and 1 who had had down Theology after ditto; and 4 who had worried Grammar, Political Economy, Botany and Logarithms all at once after ditto; that I suspected the boasted class to be one man, who had been hired to it. (Dickens, p. 123)

The notions that workers were entitled to an education calculated to "instruct the judgement" or recognize "the aspirations of (others) . . . like themselves" clearly conflicted with many contemporary interpretations. The latter emphasized the charitable sponsorship of an essentially limited commodity for an underprivileged group--something that the radicals, anticipating Paulo Freire, regarded as a form of domestication. Thus, the English socialist Thomas Hodgskin was to write in 1825 that workers enrolled in the mechanics' institutes:

> may care nothing about the curious researches of the geologist, or the elaborate classifications of the botanist, but they will assuredly ascertain why they, of all classes of society, have been involved in poverty and distress. (p. 101)

For Jacksonian workers it has been suggested that such radicalism "was not congenial to opportunistic Americans" and that their goals were "not to achieve utopia or doctrinaire political goals but improvement in the economic position of skilled journeymen" (Pessen, 1967, pp. 33, 51). The American Journal of Education noted in 1826 that already the British mechanics' institutes were leading "the wealthy and the highly educated to feel uneasy for their rank" (1826, January, Vol. 1, p. 6). However, despite the high hopes that had followed Independence, such unease was not lacking in the American scene. In both countries, the term "workers" was becoming unwieldy, being claimed by both masters/small employers and journeymen/ employees, in addition to their apprentices and the unskilled. Such mechanics' institutes as proclaimed their management and policy being determined by "mechanics," were usually a reflection of the interests of the small or large employers, coupled often with the support of middle-class professionals. Thus, the much eulogized David Bell, "mechanic president of the Buffalo Mechanics' Institute" in the 1840s was a major employer and a builder of locomotives and steamboats ("Our First Big Fair," 1899, n.p.). A comparable situation existed in Canada, with institute presidents such as the publisher, John Neilson, in Quebec City or John Redpath, a banker and industrialist, in Montreal. Despite prevailing ambitions to succeed in like manner to such self-made entrepreneurs, labor displayed early misgivings at having them interpret its educational needs. Thus, cordial relations between organized labor and a mechanics' institute might exist, as in New York, but a preference was also expressed by the former to have such ventures under its own control (Curoe, 1926). Conversely, as in York (Toronto) in 1830, at first the skilled worker largely ignored the new institute, preferring instead another pioneer foundation, a trade union. Workers in fact were coming to resent "Workers' education," the "education of mechanics," or other labels implying that the repositories of, interpreters of, and providers of, education were the middle classes. Thus, Timothy Claxton, the self-educated founder of Boston Mechanics' Institute in 1826, was an early critic of the dependence by working-class students on middle-class lecturers. For him, the principle of 'mutual-improvement' or of 'friends educating each other' was both possible and necessary to insure the viability and integrity of such ventures. He spoke of 'mutual improvement' as enabling students to "acquire a habit of doing their own studying and speaking, and consequently of calling into exercise the faculties of their own minds" (Claxton, 1839, p. 137).

As the first major attempt to redefine workers' education since the hallowed system of apprenticeship, the mechanics' institutes were to serve the unintended purpose of discovering the nature and scope of some workers' own interests, as well as the feasibility of meeting such interests. Despite varying degrees of public and private funding, these institutes were to depend increasingly on members' fees. This fact was to give members slightly more scope for the exercise of that autonomy and judgment now increasingly denied them amid the exploitation and alienation of the industrial work place. Typically, it involved conflict, with middle-class administrations condemning many workers for not participating in existing institute programs--in effect for not sharing in the dominant ideology of a community of interests which implied social and economic mobility for those who persevered in their assigned studies. Although American society seemed to offer workers more tangible material rewards than did British society, the workers' response to institute programs was remarkably similar on both sides of the Atlantic. The spectrum ranged from initial enthusiasm for "useful knowledge" to a more selective participation, and then to demands for liberal and recreational features. Whatever the response to the latter, there was a fairly unanimous rebuff to attempts to go even further and include controversial political and economic issues. The workers' response to institute programs may thus be interpreted as part of that broader response to seek "as much autonomy and control as possible over their work lives and their leisure-time worlds" (Stephenson & Asher, 1986, p. 1). Having tolerated the traditional constraints of apprenticeship only to witness the deskilling that was accompanying the division of labor, adult workers were to seek an education that addressed questions beyond technical competence. Even by the 1830s their situation differed widely among trades and among geographic locations, with craft consciousness ebbing before the advent of class consciousness. Accordingly, their own interpretation of educational needs was at best fragmented and often purely reactive. Some wholeheartedly accepted the middle-class interpretation and managed to prosper socially and economically. Well-publicized role models indeed abounded from the late 18th century, and in the 19th century "some entrepreneurially-minded mechanics began emerging from the cocoon of artisan culture and entering the web of capitalist relations" (Leary, 1986, p. 39). However, success tended to render such self-made people intolerant of workers' critical interpretations of society. Thus, in 1836 the successful York (Toronto) printer, William Lyon Mackenzie, could reconcile his own radicalism and support of workers' education with condemnation of journeymen whom he charged, "foment divisions and animosities in society" (Forsey, 1960, p. 20). Journeymen, however, saw the "divisions and animosities" as already present in society, and if the education provided did not address such issues, then alternative means had to be sought.

Those means were to be sought in an increasing variety of formal and informal learning situations, as the workers sought to formulate alternatives to the dominant social values of the early 19th century. To independent study for the dedicated individual student was added group interaction in places of work, domicile, worship, fellowship, and recreation (Laurie, 1979). Insofar as their prized skills remained marketable, the skilled workers remained in the forefront of this enterprise, and their rich associational life was long to mediate the full impact of prescriptive middle-class interpretations of education. Just as traditional apprenticeship was being replaced by a more impersonal market-oriented training, so were mechanics' institutes being jostled by trade unions, political reform associations, and an array of cults and utopias. Workers sought to protest emerging industrialism and its underlying interpretation of workers' education by sampling the 19th century's increasing diversity of causes and campaigns, of fads and fancies. Their search for a viable alternative was not to be realized in this period--one may question if it has been realized today.

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EDUCATION AND WORKING CLASS CULTURE: GERMAN WORKERS' CLUBS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY CHICAGO

Fred M. Schied

INTRODUCTION

The front page of the December 25, 1873 issue of the Chicago Tribune did not wish residents of the city good cheer. On this particular Christmas day, news of the holiday season was carried on pages two and three. The entire front page of the newspaper dealt with organizations threatening the city. Under the headline, "Our Communists," the city's leading English language newspaper promised to give Chicagoans "A brief sketch of the Socialist movement" and to identify "The First Organization in Chicago" to introduce this new doctrine. There followed a remarkable series of articles, including a biographical sketch of the leader of the international communists, one "Carl Marx," and most surprisingly, a long summation of Marx's "peculiar ideas as expressed in his work The Communist Manifesto." The article quoted extensively from the Manifesto.

Along with the articles on the international communist (or socialist--the words were used interchangeably) movement, much of the front page was devoted to the local Chicago situation. That situation, according to the Tribune, was desperate. Over one-quarter of the city's working population was unemployed. Many of those still employed had suffered severe wage reductions. Unemployed workers were demonstrating. The Socialists had taken over the leadership of these "desperate and hungry men." The City's Relief and Aid Society, organized to provide food to the unemployed and their families, was riddled with corruption. Demonstrations were planned by the Socialists to demand action to reorganize the Society. Two years after the Great Fire which almost destroyed Chicago, the city seemed on the brink of anarchy.

Where did these socialists and communists come from? How did they become so influential in the city? How did their ideas spread so quickly that the city's largest newspaper would devote its entire front page to their "peculiar" ideas? Who was responsible for this unrest? The answer, at least for the Chicago Tribune, was obvious. In its article on the local roots of socialist activity, the newspaper laid the responsibility at the feet of one group: the recent German immigrants and their foreign doctrines. The Tribune traced the beginning of this movement back to the formation of the *Arbeiter-Verein* (workers' club) in 1858. By 1871, the Tribune wrote, the *Social-Politische Arbeiter-Verein* (Social-Political Workers' Club) had accepted as its creed the Manifesto of the Communist Party and had held meetings where this "peculiar" philosophy was discussed. It was within these organizations and among their immigrant German members that the danger lay.

The Tribune articles did not go far enough. Not only were meetings held at one *Arbeiter-Verein*, but by the early 1870s *Arbeiter-Vereine* were located throughout the city. Moreover, the largest of the clubs had a lending library containing books by Marx, Lassalle, Weitling, and a host of other European radicals. The club held regularly scheduled debates on social issues of the day and weekly talks by such people as Joseph Weydemeyer (a friend of Karl Marx and Marx's American correspondent), as well as picnics, balls, concerts, and song festivals that attracted hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of participants. From the late 1850s until after the Haymarket Affair in 1886, the *Arbeiter-Vereine* were at the center of a vigorous cultural and social movement which shaped and significantly influenced the course of American radicalism.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the *Arbeiter-Vereine* in their cultural and historical context, and, especially, to explore the educational aspects of these clubs. This paper argues that the *Arbeiter-Vereine* were part of a broader artisan culture which was crucial to the emergence of a distinct American working-class culture. It further suggests that radical European socialist thought was introduced to American society through German working-class organizations such as the *Arbeiter-Vereine*.

In order to examine the conditions which lead to the founding of the *Arbeiter-Vereine* it is necessary to take a closer look at the economic and social forces which shaped Chicago.

CHICAGO IN THE 19TH CENTURY

During the mid-to-late 19th century, Chicago experienced a boom in its population unprecedented in American history. From a small town of approximately 30,000 inhabitants in 1850, Chicago grew to 109,000 in 1860, to almost 300,000 in 1870, and to 503,000 in 1880. By 1890 Chicago had become one of the largest cities in the United States with a population in excess of 1,000,000. From 1850 to 1890 Chicago's population doubled almost every ten years (City of Chicago, 1976). Given the state of technology during the mid-19th century and the virtual destruction of the city during the Great Fire of 1871, the growth of this midwestern metropolis lead civic boosters to call Chicago the "Wonder of the West" (Pierce, 1957, p. 87).

As astonishing as this growth was, even more astonishing was the reason for the city's population explosion. The increase in population was due almost exclusively to a massive influx of immigrants. In 1860, when Chicago's population had reached 100,000, almost one-half of its population was foreign-born. The single largest immigrant group was German. By 1870, when Chicago's population neared 300,000, over 52,000 residents were born in the German states. Combined with children of German-speaking parents born in the United States, the German element (foreign born or born of German-speaking parents) was probably closer to 70,000. By 1890 the German element consisted of 325,000 people; one-third of the population of the city (City of Chicago, 1976). In fact, native-born individuals of native-stock Americans were in the distinct minority. In 1884 they accounted for only 24% of the entire population of the city. The *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the city's German working-class newspaper, could boast in the same year that only five cities in Germany had a larger German population (*Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung* [hereinafter *ChAZ*], 1884, August 30).

But if the Germans were the largest ethnic group in Chicago they were not the only group. The city was filled with immigrants from Ireland, Scandinavia, Bohemia, and a growing number from Poland. Measured by ethnicity (defined by foreign birth or family origin), in 1890, 76% of the population was made up of immigrants or the children of immigrants (City of Chicago, 1976). However, it was the Germans who, during the period from 1850 to 1890, dominated the ethnic life of the city. The North Side of the city, home to most of Chicago's Germans, was called the *Nord Seite* by even the English language press. The second largest newspaper in the city was the Illinois *Staats-Zeitung*, one of three daily German language newspapers. Chicago also had ten weekly German newspapers (Arndt & Olsen, 1955).

Economically, Chicago was America's original boom town. It grew from a small frontier town into a major manufacturing center. The immigrants came to work in the giant manufacturing plants in America, but for the most part, they did not share in the economic growth of Chicago. Chicago's growth coincided with two periods of depression, a decline in the demand for skilled workers combined with an increase in demand for semiskilled workers, and numerous massive strikes (Kann, 1977; Nelson, 1988).

The jobs the immigrants had were mostly factory jobs, irregular in nature and subject to the fluctuations inherent in a capitalistic economic system. During hard times one-third of the city's work force could be unemployed, the rest could suffer from wage cuts ranging anywhere from 10% to 75%. Housing conditions for working people were primitive, and sanitation services were almost nonexistent. When the spring rains came, Chicago's streets became impassable. Visitors to the city were shocked at living conditions; observers called the slums of Chicago worse than any in industrial England (Pierce, 1957). Yet, the immigrants still came--for many of the Germans, emigration was the only option.

GERMAN EMIGRATION

The German states in the 1830s saw the rise of increasingly militant political activity. Unemployment, declining incomes, deteriorating working conditions, and reduced social status plagued the artisans. Outright starvation haunted the lower classes in 1845-1846. Much of the social turmoil can be attributed to the beginnings of German industrialization. However, German society still reflected a society retaining strong vestiges of feudal relationships and institutions. The result was that German lower classes found themselves faced with a situation in which the beginnings of industrialization combined with a system that reflected still powerful feudalism (Engels, 1967; Noyes, 1966).

In 1847 hunger riots broke out in most of the German states and troops fought with rioters. In 1848 revolution broke out in the German states. This liberal bourgeois revolution had a broad base of support. Artisans, peasants, students, and members of the middle class participated in the revolution and toppled most of the governments in the German states. However, the liberal bourgeoisie saw itself threatened from below as well as above. Engels (1967) argued that this (inevitable) mistrust ultimately led to the successful counterrevolution that re-established the old regime.

It was during this time of revolutionary upheaval in Germany, from about 1845 through the 1850s that the rate of German immigration to the U.S. rose dramatically, while the character of the immigration changed. In 1854, the height of pre-Civil War German immigration, between 150,000 and 225,000 Germans settled in the United States. This number was not surpassed until the early 1880s. Furthermore, these immigrants had different backgrounds from the earlier German immigrants; they tended to be poorer and less rural. Artisans made up significant numbers of the immigrants and were disproportionately represented in the German immigration (Walker, 1964). Yet this artisan culture, long ignored by historians, carried within it traditions which had great impact upon American working-class radicalism.

ARTISAN CULTURE: UNCOMMON COMMON MEN

New labor historians, such as Gutman (1973), Palmer (1976), Brody (1979), and Montgomery (1980), have viewed culture as something more than tools in the anthropological sense or as inherited resources. Culture for these historians refers to the unfolding of everyday life. Thus, culture is "patterns of socially learned behavior expressed in artifacts, languages, traditions, values, and the like." Culture in this sense "is used"; and "any analysis of its use immediately brings into view the arrangement of persons in social groups, for whom cultural forms confirm, reinforce, maintain, change or deny particular arrangements of status power, and identity" (Mintz quoted in Palmer, 1976, p. 8).

Viewing culture from this perspective, one can trace elements of an artisan culture back to the middle ages. Journeyman-skilled workers--tailors, carpenters, printers, cigar makers, and others--created a culture in which movement (or "tramping"), self-education, political activism, and craft tradition played a central role in one's existence.

Throughout Europe and the United States, 19th century artisans worked and moved from place to place. Literate and worldly, artisans often hired one of their own to read to them while the others worked. Some artisan groups taxed themselves to form libraries (Gutman, 1973). Artisans looked back on a culture dating to the middle ages which transcended ethnic characteristics (though it did not exclude ethnic differences).

Eulogizing one 19th century German-American artisan, historian Bryan Palmer (1976) wrote: "He could spin a yarn, write a poem, make a speech, sing a song, bring a melody from a guitar, or tip a glass of lager beer with unequalled spirit and cosmopolitan politeness." He was a "most uncommon common man" (p. 5). Though not all artisans were as cosmopolitan, it was from these "most uncommon common men," whose very existence was threatened by industrialization, that organizations such as the *Arbeiter-Vereine* emerged. Due to historical conditions discussed above, large numbers of German artisans emigrated to the United States. Along with the tools of their crafts, they brought their culture and traditions with them.

ARTISANS AND *ARBEITER-VEREINE*

Arbeiter-Vereine were not unique to Germans living in the United States. They existed wherever German expatriates found themselves. Curiously, there were few workers' clubs in the German states themselves. Due to the repressive laws of the German states, most workers' organizations (including the popular singing societies) were outlawed or severely repressed.

However, various workers' associations were founded outside the German states. The first *Arbeiter-Verein* was founded in Paris (home of some 50,000 to 80,000 German artisans) in 1830 (Amann, 1975). In 1840 former members of the Paris club founded the *Kommunistische Arbeiterbildungsverein* (Communist Workers' Education Association), more commonly known as the London *Bildungsverein* (Education Association).

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels became its most prominent members (Shipley, 1983).

However, the center of the German workers' movement, especially after 1848, was Switzerland. Here the policy of many of the Swiss cantons was reasonably tolerant towards workers' organizations, in general, and German political refugees, in particular. It was here that the German and Swiss artisans formed singing societies, reading groups, and educational clubs. Geneva had a *Bildungs und Unterichtsverein* (education and lecture club) which had its own dining hall and library and offered instruction in singing, natural science, and French. By 1840 several *Arbeiterlesevereine* (workers' reading clubs) had sprung up in several Swiss cities.

The activities of the Swiss clubs varied greatly, but had several elements in common. Most clubs had some educational or formal social programs and existed as a place were German artisans could gather to drink their beers and sing their songs. These clubs formed the basis of German artisan culture and became the center for much of the political activity of the German workers' movement (Noyes, 1966; Schluter, 1907; Shipley, 1983).

As indicated above, tramping and political activism played a central role in the life of 19th century artisans. One of these tramping artisans, significant to this study because of his later involvement in the American *Arbeiter-Vereine*, was Wilhelm Weitling. Weitling, a journeyman tailor, traveled throughout Europe. In 1836 he was living in Paris where he became involved in radical circles. He then moved to Brussels where he met Karl Marx. In 1846 he came to the United States and remained there, except for a brief return to Germany to participate in the revolution of 1848. Weitling had developed a theory current among workers' clubs and groups called *Handwerker-Kommunismus* (artisan communism). He espoused a program of producer and consumer cooperatives, labor exchange banks, and communal, cooperative colonies. His basic idea was that the system of economic production was to be based on cooperative efforts of skilled workers residing with their families in colonies.

Weitling's reputation preceded him to the United States. In New York he made several speeches to German workingmen groups, helped organize that city's *Arbeiter-Verein*, and was able to gather enough funds to begin a newspaper, *Die Republik der Arbeiter* (The Workers' Republic). The newspaper provided him with the vehicle to advocate for his program of producers' and consumers' colonies.

Weitling toured the United States and claimed to have established *Arbeiter-Vereine* in such diverse locations as Newark, New Orleans, and Philadelphia. Whatever his influence in other cities, it is clear that he was the key figure in the creation of the Philadelphia *Arbeiter-Verein*. Organized after the news of the German Revolution of 1848, the constitution of the Philadelphia *Arbeiter-Verein* demanded that the state provide full employment and care for the aged and called for genuine democracy in the United States.

Organizationally, the club met once a week and debated such issues as land reform, national workingmen's leagues, and abolition of inheritances. Additionally, it provided sickness and death benefits and built an *Arbeiter-Halle* (workers' hall) (Foner & Chamberlin, 1977; Wittke, 1950).

Weitling sought to organize a national organization of German workingmen. In 1850, under the auspices of the Philadelphia *Arbeiter-Verein*, he called together a national convention of workers with the express purpose of creating a national organization. The meeting drew 4,000 workers and was an indication of Weitling's national (and international) prominence. This workers' association sought to establish producers and consumer cooperatives, a workers' bank, and workers' communal colonies. It further urged the creation of *Arbeiter-Hallen* (workers' halls) and *Arbeiterbildungsvereine* (workers' education clubs) in German communities throughout the United States. These *Vereine* and *Hallen* were to serve as cultural centers and meeting places for labor groups, establish mutual insurance societies, provide reading rooms, and (a special interest of Weitling's) support singing societies (Schluter, 1918).

Weitling, himself, provides us with a picture of the German-American workers' community and the *Arbeiter-Vereine*. Traveling throughout the country attempting to build his organization, Weitling visited numerous cities and urged the creation of *Arbeiter-Vereine* where they did not exist and expansion of *Arbeiter-Vereine* in those areas where they did exist.

Weitling's workers' organization, racked with internal fiscal difficulties, began to come apart after only two years. Nevertheless, Weitling managed to keep his organization limping along until 1857 (Schluter, 1907).

The idea of worker halls and worker societies did not originate with Weitling. *Arbeiter-Vereine* and *Arbeiter-Hallen* were elements of German artisan culture. Thus, their introduction into the American setting cannot be traced to one organization. However, the popularization and form of *Arbeiter-Vereine* seem to be due to the influence of Weitling and his *Arbeiterbund* (worker's federation). It is doubtful that in 1850, any radical other than Wilhelm Weitling could have called a meeting in which over 4,000 *Handwerker* (artisans) appeared.

ARBEITER-VEREINE IN CHICAGO

Influenced by Weitling's national movement, the first Chicago *Arbeiter-Verein* was organized during the troubled year of 1857. Chicago, as well as most of the rest of the country, had suffered from the Panic of 1857 during which numerous bank collapses resulted in at least 204 business closings and left many workers without jobs. Those who kept their jobs faced wage reductions of up to 65% (Pierce, 1940).

The Chicago *Arbeiter-Verein* was founded by dissatisfied German artisans and their allies who, influenced by socialism, saw the primary issue of the time to be the conflict between capital and labor. As early as 1854 the newspaper, Der Proletarier (The Proletarian) had dealt with the issues of the day from a socialist perspective (Nelson, 1988).

The *Arbeiter-Verein* was part of a larger effort among German workers to organize. During 1857 attempts were made to organize several unions. Saloons catering to working men also began to appear, and workers' singing societies began to be established (Keil & Ickstadt, 1979). It was within this milieu that the *Arbeiter-Verein* was organized. The *Verein* was, above all, a cultural institution. The club sponsored a variety of functions and events, sometimes in conjunction with other organizations, including dances, lectures, debating societies, singing groups, and an evening English school. By the early 1860s the club was the center of the German workers' community (Illinois *Staats-Zeitung* [hereinafter ISZ], 1861, June 3; 1862, July 11).

By 1862 the club had a membership of 389 men, a library of over 500 books, and an English language school which met every week during the winter. In addition, the club sponsored social events every Sunday night and presented lectures every two weeks. The president of the club commented that "much friendlier spirit prevails in meetings. When debating, it is done with less bitterness and without sarcastic references to individuals" (ISZ, 1862, May 26, p. 3).

During the club's early years much activity revolved around developing cooperative workers' organizations and joining with Weitling's movement. Many of the lectures and debates at the club centered around the role of labor in a new age of industrialization.

Among the earliest and most influential lecturers at the Chicago *Arbeiter-Verein* (and later at other *Arbeiter-Vereine* throughout the city) was Joseph Weydemeyer. Weydemeyer was a former lieutenant in the Prussian army who met Karl Marx in Cologne when Marx was the editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. After resigning from the military, Weydemeyer became a radical journalist, inspired and encouraged by Marx. After the collapse of the 1848 Revolution, Weydemeyer emigrated to the United States, at least partly due to Marx's persuasion. Once in the United States, Weydemeyer visited German communities throughout the country spreading Marx's ideas. Serving as Marx's American correspondent, Weydemeyer and Marx wrote to each other until Weydemeyer's death (Oberman, 1947).

At the *Arbeiter-Verein*, Weydemeyer spoke on the international dimension of the workers' movement and spread the tenets of scientific socialism. Weydemeyer caused some controversy within the club by his criticism of Weitling's romantic socialism. While it may be overstating the case to say that Weydemeyer introduced Marx to Chicago, he did popularize Marx's thought and may have been responsible for the *Arbeiter-Verein's* acquisition of some of Marx's works (ISZ, 1859, March 3; 1859, April 8).

As well known as Weydemeyer was within the German workers' movement, his renown did not exceed that of the Chicago *Arbeiter-Verein's* first president, Theodore Hielscher. A hero of the failed 1848 Revolution, Hielscher was a teacher by profession (Dobert, 1950). It was Hielscher who started and taught in the evening English language school and was the club's most prominent lecturer during the late 1850s and early 1860s. Hielscher constantly urged the club to expand its evening school offerings by establishing additional classes in a new bookkeeping system then popular. Hielscher's suggestions were ignored by others in the club (ISZ, 1861, March 3).

Hielscher, though no socialist, was an ardent radical republican. A vehement abolitionist before the War, he became an ardent supporter of the Union during the Civil War. Hielscher led the club during the Civil War years, and by 1865 it grew to 1,000 members and had a library of over 3,000 books (ISZ, 1865, November 10). Not surprisingly, during the 1860s' debates and lectures moved from the workers' concerns to issues raised by the Civil War. The club itself saw its membership decline in 1863 as more men enlisted in the union army. (Joseph Weydemeyer resumed his military career, this time in the Union army.) (ISZ, 1863, October 20; Oberman, 1947)

After the War, discussion turned once again to the concerns of working people. By 1866 Hielscher's name disappeared from the leadership of the club, but it appeared later in advertisements in the Illinois *Staats-Zeitung* showing him as the head of his own school, teaching, presumably, his much discussed bookkeeping system (ISZ, 1867, September 11).

The early years of the Civil War also saw the rise of other *Arbeiter-Vereine* in the city. These clubs, while sharing the philosophy of the original club, were located in the growing neighborhoods of the city and were often more overtly socialist in tone than the original club. By the late 1860s at least three clubs existed in the city. All of them had libraries and all of them had debate evenings, lecture nights, dances, and special events. Most significant of these neighborhood clubs was the *Socialer Arbeiter-Verein der 10th Ward* (Social Workers' Club of the 10th Ward) (ChAZ, 1876, December 3; ISZ, 1867, September 13). As one of the most active and radical clubs in the city, the club sponsored lectures by such well-known radicals as Weydemeyer; Eduard Schlager, a socialist union organizer; and Dr. Ernest Schmidt, the Socialist Party's candidate for mayor in 1877. The *Arbeiter-*

Verein der West Seite (Workers' Club of the West Side), about which less is known, also seems to have offered similar programs. By the mid-1870s numerous *Arbeiter-Vereine* existed throughout the city. Some seem to have been no more than social organizations which disappeared after a relatively short period of time. Others had small libraries, reading rooms, and regularly scheduled entertainment.

All the clubs with the exception of the original, which by 1869 had purchased its own hall, held their meetings in the back rooms of neighborhood saloons. The clubs, while not formally associated, generally coordinated their activities. Rarely would major events overlap. For major events, such as well-known speakers or celebrations, the neighborhood *Arbeiter-Verein* would rent the meeting hall owned by the original club (ISZ), 1869, October 6).

Arbeiter-Vereine were generally open six evenings a week with the major social activities planned for Sunday, the working person's day off. In a given week in 1876, for example, the Chicago *Arbeiter-Verein* held its monthly business meeting on Monday evening. Tuesday and Thursday were given over to English classes, and Wednesday evening to the debate society. Sunday evenings were reserved for the club's most important activity of the week. This Sunday evening program consisted of a talk by Dr. Ernest Schmidt on the proclamation supporting the working men in Chicago along with a concert by one of the singing societies. Also, a special treat on this Sunday was a "*tableaux vivant*," a popular 19th century still-life consisting of live actors posing in a famous historical scene. This night's *tableaux vivant* was a still-life dramatizing the defense of the barricades during the days of the French Commune (Keil & Jentz, 1989, pp. 279-280).

Club life in the 1870s consisted of more than just attending occasional events at the *Arbeiter-Verein*. Rather, *Arbeiter-Vereine* served as meeting place, library, school, recreational center, and even mutual benefit society. It was also the basis for organizing, recruiting, and agitating. During periods of labor unrest the clubs became the focal point for organizing demonstrations and political action. They provided forums for lectures, discussions, and songs regarding topical issues. In 1873 the action to be taken against the city's corrupt Relief and Aid Society was debated and discussed in the workers' clubs preceded by, in good *Arbeiter-Verein* tradition, a concert by one of the singing societies. These meetings were sponsored by both the Chicago *Arbeiter-Verein* and the *Socialer Arbeiter-Verein* and attracted crowds of up to 2,000 (ISZ, 1873, December 31).

But it was not just during times of crises that the clubs were active. Although little more than the titles of the lectures survive, a quick overview includes talks on the distribution of wealth, class warfare in America, the development of industrialization in America, revolutionary activities in Europe, and so on (ISZ, 1876-1880). The libraries of the clubs, judging from a kind of suggested socialist reading list published by the Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung on November 23, 1883, included Marx, Lassalle, Bebel, as well as classical novels and subscriptions to various German and European socialist and labor newspapers.

The *Arbeiter-Vereine* were part of a larger vibrant culture that revolved around various organizations and events that touched every aspect of life. The culture consisted of singing societies, theatre groups, large picnics and parades, dances, and the annual anniversary celebration of the Paris Commune (Poore, 1979; Schluter, 1918).

The singing societies, so integral to the workers' club life, and present at almost all events, went by such names as the *Rote Mannerchor* (Red Men's Choir), the *Socialistische Mannerchor der Nord Seite* (Socialist Men's Choir of the North Side), and *Liedertafel des Socialischiste Arbeiter-Verein* (Singing Society of the Socialist Workers' Club). Theater groups, especially in the 1870s, presented plays about workers' lives. Picnics and parades were by far the most popular events. Usually held at the lakefront or just outside the city limits, picnics were major social events. Under large red banners speakers would exhort the crowd, bands would play and (of course) the singing societies would perform (Kann, 1977; Nelson, 1988). Some of these picnics were extremely large. The Chicago Tribune (1883, July 15) estimated the crowd at one picnic to be in the neighborhood of 10,000. The Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung (1883, July 15) estimated the crowd as twice as large.

If picnics and parades under red banners made some elements of the city nervous, the annual commemoration of the Paris Commune terrified these same groups. Officially celebrated in March of every year beginning in 1872, the *Communefeier* served as the focal point for various plays, concerts, speeches, and debates. The Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung sometimes used the occasion to write heroic articles on both the Commune and the failed Revolution of 1848 (1879, March 10).

From the late 1850s to the mid-1880s the *Arbeiter-Vereine* were vibrant and active in Chicago. Yet, by the early 1890s, the clubs had for the most part disappeared. The original Chicago *Arbeiter-Verein* limped along until the early 20th century as a mutual benefit and aid society which rented out its aging *Arbeiter-Halle*. A fire destroyed the hall, and a few years later the *Verein* also disappeared (ISZ, 1904, February 12).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine in depth the decline of the German socialists and their institutions in Chicago. Nevertheless, three hypothesis may help to explain their decline. First, the Haymarket Affair of 1886, in which eight socialists (seven Germans) were charged with throwing a bomb at police (four of the socialists were eventually hanged), brought a wave of repression which effectively shut down the clubs, saloons, and newspapers connected with the Haymarket martyrs. The surviving organizations either changed their names and kept a low profile (like many of the singing societies) or changed their focus (like the *Arbeiter-Vereine*). Secondly, the pace of industrialization, both in Germany and the United States, had almost destroyed the artisan class. By the 1890s many of the traditions and customs of artisans had become crushed under the increasing mechanization of society. The German immigrants arriving in the 1880s were semiskilled or unskilled laborers less acquainted with artisan culture. Finally, the nature of the city had begun to change. The new arrivals to Chicago came from Eastern and Southern Europe and brought their values and traditions with them. More and more, the German socialists saw themselves within an American context, rather than a German-American context. These mid-19th century radicals may, however, have laid the basis for an American working-class culture.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has sought to assess the impact of German workers' clubs with respect to the education of working people. The paper has argued that the educational component of the clubs was one aspect of the cultural context, and that to isolate education would fragment an organization whose very strength was its connectedness with a community.

The study has several inherent limitations. It does not claim to get "inside" the clubs; that is, it makes no attempt to analyze the membership or leaders of the clubs. While sources are limited and no membership lists survive, a group biography of the leadership would provide a sense of what went on within the clubs. Moreover, other studies which use non-English sources would provide insight into the relationship between various ethnic groups.

Over twenty million people immigrated to the United States in the 19th century. Historians of workers' education need to begin to use sources from within the immigrant community in order to understand the impact these twenty million immigrants had on workers' education.

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WORKERS' EDUCATION AS COUNTER HEGEMONY: THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS AT WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, 1907-1941

Richard J. Altenbaugh

Hear me, all ye Fundamentalists, ye Legions and ye Klans
The truth shall go to Labor in defiance of your bans!
In spite of all the Usurers, the Great Ghouls of the earth,
In spite of all the Hirelings their gold has given birth;
The truth shall be full spoken in Science's holy cause!
The youth of Toil shall hear it--the Word that sets me Free--
All-conquering, invincible, through land and air and sea,
Its message shall be cried aloud, or else in whisper blown,
Through all the censored Continents till all the facts are known,
Yea! till Education's halls are freed of all the myths that blight
The flowering of the spirit and the dawning of the light,
And till Truth shall stand triumphant on the dead Lie's shattered laws,
The Word shall be full spoken in Science's holy cause.

"Education Shall be Free"[1]
Covington Ami

INTRODUCTION

A 1923 advertisement for Work People's College appeared in the Industrial Pioneer proclaiming the need for workers' education: "The working class needs to be awakened out of its lethargy and indifference, it needs to be agitated and aroused by new ideas and aspirations." This notice also provided significant insight into the perceived unfolding of the dialectic, neither a tightly prescribed event fitting into a clear set of circumstances nor a randomly spontaneous episode snowballing into a full-blown revolution. It continued: "There is no mechanical and automatic creation of a revolutionary working class in modern production. There is, however, on the part of increasing numbers of workers, a conscious recognition of certain duties to be performed to make a revolutionary working class possible. And these include agitation, education, organization, assisted, of course, primarily by economic conditions."[2] In short, praxis did not represent blind action.

This study examines the process of cultivating a cadre of labor agitators at Work People's College, a labor college which evolved from a Finnish immigrant folk seminary established in 1903, through a socialist college in 1907, and eventually to a training school for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). It will stress a Gramscian framework, briefly scrutinize the cognitive domain of human agency, and then focus on the educational program and pedagogy at the school, relying heavily on the recollections of former teachers and students.

EDUCATION--THE BASIS OF PROLETARIAN CULTURE

David Montgomery gives us fresh insight into the concept of human agency. Seemingly echoing the statement in the Industrial Pioneer, he asserts that it represents a "deliberate" exercise: "Class consciousness was more than the unmediated product of daily experience. It was also a project." Working-class activists persisted in their efforts to cultivate worker solidarity, despite the marshaling of overwhelming state power against them. They relied upon a rich assortment of educational techniques, including the "spoken and printed word, strikes, meetings, reading circles, military drill, athletic and singing clubs, and cooperative stores." Further, as Montgomery points out, these activists and their efforts have been largely ignored. "Both 'history from the bottom up' and the common fixation on great leaders have obscured the decisive role of those whom twentieth-century syndicalists have called the 'militant minority': the men and women who endeavored to mold their workmates and neighbors into a self-aware and purposeful working class."[3] Although Montgomery addresses this concern in a brilliant manner, a fundamental question remains: How did this "militant minority" originate?

That question leads us to the centrality of the cognitive dimension in human agency. This serves as a crucial point in Antonio Gramsci's analysis of hegemony and counter hegemony, "a vision of socialism created and continuously recreated by conscious human agency rather than a socialism created and administered by elites."[4] Thus, Gramsci avoids a deterministic framework to explain social change; for him, the dialectic represents "a doctrine of consciousness." But the practical problem for Gramsci "is to develop critical forms of theoretical consciousness that actually engage with practical activity, develop it and give it a sense of its own historicity, and its ability to change the world."[5] Hence, the nurturing of class-consciousness serves as the key to understanding the transformation process. As every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an educative one, so it is with counter hegemony. In Gramsci's scheme, all people are intellectuals because they think and hold conceptions of the world.[6] This relates directly to human agency, as Paula Allman argues, since it "necessitates an educational relation in which people are helped to render an already existing activity, viz. thinking, critical and systematic. The working class must develop its own intellectuals who will be capable of introducing a critical class consciousness into sites of economic, political and social practice."[7] Gramsci directed such political education at the adult learner. Workers' education served this political function and therefore represented an integral part of proletarian culture.

Both the Socialist Party and the IWW saw education as an important component in the class struggle. Before 1920 the socialist press devoted considerable attention to educating the masses about socialism and the party's goals. In 1912 the party sponsored 323 daily, weekly, and monthly publications in English and foreign languages, with the total circulation exceeding 2 million.[8] During the early 1900s, across America, but especially in its eastern urban areas, socialists had organized Socialist Sunday Schools for their school-aged children--a formal, weekend education that countered the bourgeois biases dominant in the public schools.[9] The Rand School of Social Science, "the pioneer school of Workers' Education in America"--as Marius Hansome, an occasional lecturer at the school, labeled it--came from similar roots. It opened in 1906 in New York City with the grand hope of becoming the intellectual center of the American socialist movement, serving 6,819 adult students during its first year alone. In 1911 the school introduced the first formal Workers' Training Course in the country.[10] Many Wobblies, likewise, recognized the potential of workers' education for cultivating class consciousness and a revolutionary spirit. The IWW organized propaganda leagues, industrial education clubs, Sunday evening meetings, and open forums; it also sponsored speakers, printed and distributed pamphlets, and published six newspapers. Numerous IWW halls, as well, contained libraries and reading rooms.

On the whole, workers' education activities sponsored by both the socialists and the Wobblies remained haphazard, loosely structured, and, at best, part-time experiences. Moreover, support for organized educational efforts among IWW members appeared to be less than unanimous. For some Wobbly leaders, workers learned through participation in class warfare, that is, relying on direct action techniques in the work place. For other Wobblies, the ideal working-class intellectual studied to serve the interests of the working class, to lead the revolution, and to rule the future cooperative commonwealth.[11] A 1923 Work People's College advertisement reflected this latter view, as it brashly declared: "Sensible workingmen no longer entertain, or take seriously, the theory, that mere contact with production makes revolutionists. If that was a fact the working class, as a whole, would not be so subservient to capitalism; but, on the contrary, would be intent on its overthrow."[12] Educational efforts to raise the consciousness of workers represented the starting point.

STUDENTS AND CURRICULUM: 1903-1941

The labor colleges sponsored structured, full-time education to workers--hoping to become the "militant conscience" of the labor movement.[13] There were several in the first half of the 20th century: although Brookwood Labor College, located in Katonah, New York received the most notoriety, and Commonwealth College, situated near Mena, Arkansas maintained the most elaborate academic program, Work People's College outstripped either school in longevity, serving Finnish socialists and Wobblies until 1941.[14]

Finnish immigrants formed the pioneer foreign-language socialist federation when they created the Finnish Socialist Federation in 1904 and affiliated with the Socialist Party of America in 1907. Other immigrant groups soon followed the Finnish model. In 1917 the foreign-language federations accounted for 41% of the party's total membership of 80,126, with the Finns maintaining the largest and most powerful association. In 1912 Finnish socialists claimed 255 locals with 11,535 members, 4 newspapers, 76 meeting halls, 80 libraries, a combined organizational income of $184,000, and the Work People's College with 123 students.[15]

The origins of that College can be traced to September 15, 1903, when authorities of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church opened a folk school in Minneapolis. Created to train ministers, it sought to preserve Finnish culture and nationalism by teaching religion and language to adult students. Yet, only eight students enrolled and it closed after twelve days. Undaunted, the clergymen moved the school to Duluth in late 1903, purchased a three-story building, and incorporated as the Finnish People's College and Theological Seminary on January 5, 1904. Liberal clergy invited secularized, radical Finns to participate in the educational venture, and they responded enthusiastically, purchasing blocks of the school's stock at a dollar apiece. That became a typical way for Finns, particularly radical Finns, to subsidize publishing and cooperative enterprises. Socialists also registered at the College and soon comprised the majority of the students. They saw no viable alternative since the only other institution that could teach Finnish immigrants was Suomi College and Theological Seminary. But socialists hardly found themselves welcomed there because the school was seen as elitist and symbolized the repressive old order of Finland.[16]

Conflicts between socialists and clerics over required religious courses and rituals and an anemic enrollment forced the board of directors to consider closing the College. Alex Halonen, a socialist board member, raised additional funds for the school by selling membership certificates, or stock, to Finnish locals. In this manner, socialists not only rescued the College but also acquired a majority of the shares and moved to assert their dominance. As Guss Aakula, a former student and teacher at Work People's College, recalled, their effort was to "organize the school as a peoples' institute . . . to teach the subjects most important to the people, that is the workers."[17]

Socialists consolidated their institutional control in 1907, reshaped its educational and social goals, and renamed it Work People's College. The board of directors hired K. L. Haataja, a socialist, as director and also as an instructor. Leo Laukki, and later Yrjo Sirola, joined the teaching staff as well. Reino Salo, one of the founders of the Finnish Socialist Federation, was elected secretary and business manager. New life had been breathed into the moribund institution. Sixty-four students attended classes that fall semester, nearly all of them socialists.

While many immigrant groups saw education as a means to preserve the past, the Finnish-American left treated education as an essential factor in orienting itself to the future. More than 98% of the Finns arriving in the United States between 1899 and 1907 were literate, in marked contrast to most of their immigrant counterparts. This was due primarily to church mandates in Finland and Finnish immigrants, compulsive in their thirst for knowledge and information, who maintained an extremely high subscription rate for newspapers and periodicals. Finnish socialists were especially active in cultural and propagandistic endeavors, as Douglas Ollila illustrates:

> The Finnish Socialist Federation understood itself as an agency for education, and Federation locals sponsored lectures, debating societies, cultural forums, drama and music. Nearly every labor temple boasted of a "discussion room" where the weightier matters of Marxian dialectic and its application to the American scene were endlessly debated. Socialist children attended their own Sunday and summer schools where they memorized A. B. Makela's primer which included a "Socialist Child's Ten Commandments," and didactic narratives about greedy capitalists who exploited the impoverished proletariat.[18]

With this experience, the Finnish radical community hoped to develop its own cadre--incuding editors, teachers, and agitators--who would serve the cause, and Work People's College was designed specifically to train these functionaries in preparation for the advent of the socialist commonwealth.

Socialist Finns also created their own educational programs to accomplish these goals, because, as Arne Halonen notes, they perceived the American system of public education as training children to reject "the enthusiasm and social aims of their socialistic parents."[19] One unidentified socialist expressed his contempt for the public schools at the 1909 convention of the Finnish Socialist Federation:

> We know very well that immigrants, particularly Finnish immigrants, already in the second and third generation, under the influence of environment, become conservatively minded and scorn their own

> nationality, language, and class. They become Finn-Yanks whose only interests in life are dancing, fine clothes, chewing gum and American street manner.[20]

Radical Finns believed that the public schools taught their children blind conformity and hedonistic materialism, ministering to bourgeois hegemony. Work People's College, in contrast, sought to preserve Finnish culture, promote literacy, and instill socialist ideals, thus serving a counter-hegemonic function.

The College maintained both theoretical and practical courses of study. The adult students planned the program themselves and selected their classes. The social sciences included general history, economics, civics, citizenship, sociology, evolutionary biology, labor tactics, and public speaking. In the latter course, Aakula pointed out that "correct manners and speech . . . were regarded as important concerning mass function."[21] Books for these courses included Kautsky's *History of Socialism*, *The Erfurt Program*, and *Economic Teachings of Karl Marx*, Marx's *Capital*, Engels' *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, among others. Some students found these readings too difficult and abstract. Since many students balked at what they called "scientific socialism," just as they had previously resisted religion classes forced on them by the clerics, the 1912 stockholders' meeting mandated that all students enroll in at least one course on socialism. "No doubt," Ollila concludes, "the most important learning which took place could be described as 'experiential' in the sense of emotional commitment, comradeship, and a faith that 'the world would soon be ours.'"[22]

Concerned with more practical matters, the Commercial Department offered double-entry American bookkeeping, commercial arithmetic, law, and correspondence. According to John Wiita, a former student and teacher, these courses were intended to prepare "business managers, bookkeepers, clerks for our [Finnish] newspapers, cooperatives and private businesses."[23] The school also offered geometry, poetry, and other subjects at the students' request.

Throughout its early years--including the ideological transition from socialism to industrial unionism in 1914--Work People's College continued to stress citizenship.[24] Finns continued to dominate the student body; however, some Italian and Hungarian students were admitted. The rudiments of mathematics and the basic rules of Finnish grammar had to be taught to worker-students who, although literate, "came from poor, rural backgrounds in Finland and had no minimal amount of formal schooling."[25] Fred W. Thompson, the school's director during much of its IWW period, recalled that the institution

> was primarily a place to acculturate Finnish immigrants both to the history and language of this country, and to the labor movement. . . . For many, no matter what the course might be called, the main content was the English language--economics, labor history, English, or what. . . . Classes included a couple who had some college [education], and also some who had got [*sic*] past grade seven or its equivalent in some other country. We managed to make all get something out of it.[26]

That naturalization process did not contradict the College's basic social and educational tenets. As Peter Kivisto points out, "When socialist leaders urged the rank and file to Americanize (i.e., to learn English and apply for citizenship), it was not in order to assimilate the values and role expectations of the dominant culture, but to provide the bases for forging class solidarity."[27] Since the Socialist Party relied on the ballot box, suffrage represented the obvious purpose of citizenship.

In 1914 Finnish socialists experienced the same internal political upheaval as the American Socialist Party had endured in 1912. The events that precipitated the crisis engulfed Work People's College, of course. Many radical Finns, Arne Halonen insists, realized the meaning of industrial struggle as early as the founding meeting of the Finnish Socialist Federation: "To win political machinery for a social revolution was still a theoretical question, but to win a strike was a practical problem."[28] Heated debate over political action versus economic action dominated subsequent Finnish Federation conventions and focused on the IWW. Proponents of the union argued that modern industrial conditions demanded an industrial union. Direct economic action, through a general strike, represented the only effective way for workers to solve their problems. Other means, such as Socialist political campaigns or the American Federation of Labor's craft approach, either took too long or were doomed to failure.[29]

Under Leo Laukki's leadership, beginning in 1908, Work People's College moved steadily leftward and concomitantly condemned political action. Many loyal socialist delegates at the 1912 Finnish convention were incensed by teacher and student criticisms of the party's parliamentarian policies. The Finnish Socialist Federation assessed each member fifty cents--and occasionally a dollar--to help subsidize the school, yet, it had the audacity to produce students who opposed socialist goals. One socialist expressed his anger and sense of betrayal: "Yesterday I talked with one former student [who] had attended the college for two years and said that the party platform may go to hell! That's the result of teaching at the college."[30] Socialists, nonetheless, voted to continue their annual contribution of $11,000 to the school in the hope that its teachings would return to party precepts.

Differences between socialist hardliners and industrial unionists had become irreconcilable by 1914. Many branches of the Finnish Socialist Federation were fragmented over the question of tactics. The Federation's convention, held in Chicago, produced a hopeless split between those who favored political action and those for direct action. As a result, the Finnish Socialist Federation began its organizational decline. With 17,316 members in May 1913, membership in the organization never exceeded 11,000 after 1914. According to Arne Halonen, an uncompromising, dogmatic spirit represented the apparent reason for the dissolution: "To keep up Marxian principles in their purity, was more important than unity in an organization which had done more to awaken the Finnish workers to socialistic thought."[31]

A 1914 pamphlet, "The Controversy Within the Finnish Socialist Organization of [*sic*] United States, Its Issues and Reasons," served as a polemic against the Wobbly insurrection. In it, angry socialists pointed to the "Workers' College" as the "seat of 'radicalism'" for the IWW movement among the Finns. An investigation of the school by an official delegation for the Finnish Socialist Federation received a cool reception. Laukki "and his Board of Directors," the pamphlet complained, "treated the committee very indifferently and insolently and presented terms and conditions, which made any investigation impossible. Thus, the committee was compelled to return home without having accomplished anything." The outraged socialists promptly withdrew their financial support and smugly predicted that "the persistent insubmission of the will of the majority of the Finnish organization on the part of the Radicals has now jeopardized even the existence of the College, as it is very doubtful, how the College with its heavy debts and mortgages can continue its existence after the withdrawal of a yearly subsidy of more than 6,000 dollars."[32] Their prediction proved a bit faulty.

Despite the loss of socialist backing, the school continued to survive with the support of the IWW and more radical Finns. The union formally acknowledged Work People's College as its official school in 1921, and became the largest single stockholder, controlling 300 shares. Several years even before this, however, Finns sympathetic to the IWW, like their socialist predecessors, had secured a majority of the College's stock and voted to officially adopt the union's doctrine. Furthermore, under the tutelage of Laukki and Sirola, the school continued its leftward political drift. Laukki, at times, echoed union policy and suggested that sabotage was sometimes necessary in order to effect a successful revolution. According to John Wiita, Sirola espoused a less dogmatic position: "While [Sirola] accepted the industrial form of unionism in preference to craft unionism, he never accepted IWW's syndicalist theories or methods, destruction of property or the means of production, or any form of sabotage."[33]

Wobbly support for educational efforts like Work People's College grew out of the union's experiences with the public schools, which served bourgeois hegemony. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the most notorious Wobblies, recalled the antistrike activities of the Lawrence public schools during the 1912 IWW-led textile strike: "The efforts of the . . . schools were directed to driving a wedge between the school children and their striking parents. Often children in such towns became ashamed of their foreign-born, foreign-speaking parents, their old-country ways, their accents, their foreign newspapers, and even their strike and mass picketing. . . . Some of the teachers called the strikers lazy, said they should go back to work or 'back where they came from.'"[34] Flynn and William "Big Bill" Haywood attempted to organize "children's meetings" of their own. Haywood also noted that the public schools performed the very same antiunion role during the ill-fated 1913 Paterson silk workers' strike, again led by the IWW. The strikers' children, as Haywood wrote in his autobiography, resorted to "a school strike because the teachers had called the striking silk workers and their organizers 'anarchists and good-for-nothing-foreigners.'"[35] Thus, Haywood purchased stock in Work People's College and proclaimed: "The IWW had much reason to be proud of its school, which has graduated many efficient organizers."[36]

The Announcement of Courses for the 1923-24 academic year delineated the College's revolutionary orientation and adherence to IWW doctrine:

> This school recognizes the existence of class struggle in society, and its courses of study have been prepared so that industrially organized workers, both men and women, dissatisfied with conditions under our capitalist system, can more efficiently carry on an organized class struggle for the attainment of industrial demands, and realistically of a new social order.[37]

Work People's College served, first, to create "a revolutionary working class" in order to generate radical social change and, second, to prepare workers to govern the new social order.

The formal curriculum reflected little fundamental ideological change after the school's official affiliation with the IWW. The College required only one course, entitled the Essentials of the Labor Movement, which exposed students to the basics of economics, sociology, and labor history. The Scientific Department included history, sociology, economics, geography, biology, and arithmetic. The school offered a History of the Labor Movement in the United States with, among other texts, Commons' History of Labor in the United States and an IWW publication, Historical Catechism of American Unionism. The reading list for the Materialistic Conception of

History recommended that students read Engels' Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State and Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire, Civil War in France, and Revolution and Counter Revolution. A course on the Motives of Social Activity used Lester Ward's Dynamic Sociology. Industrial geography equipped "revolutionists with a knowledge of the physical basis of industry, and the strategic points for attack on the capitalist system."[38] Economics texts consisted of Economic Interpretaion of the Job, an IWW publication; Student's Marx by Aveling; Capital by Marx; Theoretical Systems of Karl Marx by Boudin; and U.S. documents, census reports, trade journals, and market reports.

While the Scientific Department emphasized theoretical issues, the Department of Labor Propaganda and Organization taught practical skills. Public speaking, debating, reporting and editing, delegates' work, bookkeeping, and a class on IWW Structure, Methods, Present Policies and Position fell into this category. The description for the public speaking course clearly illustrated its utilitarian nature: "Students to prepare lectures on subjects of propaganda value. Lecture to be given to class *as if an audience of workers* [emphasis added]. Class and instructor will criticize the material, arrangement and delivery."[39] The best articles written in the reporting and editing class often found their way into IWW publications. Delegates' work taught students the finer points of union bureaucracy, while bookkeeping courses covered practical financial skills. The English Department maintained a militant demeanor by demanding that students read "radical literature." Finally, the program maintained a short course on the questions required for naturalization.

The school experienced many enrollment fluctuations. It accommodated as few as 8 adult students its first year, gradually climbing to an annual average of 133 between 1910 and 1915; most were male. For example, during the 1910-11 academic year, the College claimed 112 students, with 15 females. Because of the rupture between Finnish socialists and industrial unionists, attendance fell to about 38 in 1915-16. By the 1920s enrollment ranged from 40 to 70 students a year, but in the 1930s this dipped until only 30 students were left in 1940-41, the school's last year. Student occupations covered the agricultural and industrial spectrum, including sheepherders, cowboys, sailors, cooks, and mine workers. Some came great distances; one student, unable to afford railway fare, rode most of the trip from Saskatoon, Saskatchewan to Duluth on the outside of a boxcar, exposed to icy blasts of wind. "Such is the thirst," declared Clifford Ellis, one of the school's teachers, "for education among workers."[40]

PEDAGOGY FOR PROLETARIANS

Throughout its history, Work People's College rejected authoritarian pedagogy, that is, rote learning characterized by the instructor lecturing and then testing to measure student retention. Teacher-student relationships in the classroom reflected a political microcosm. The more completely the students accepted the passive and subservient role imposed on them in a traditional classroom, the more they would adapt to a stratified, bourgeois society instead of functioning as active agents for social change. Traditional pedagogy, therefore, served as a form of oppression. Timed exams, competitive grades, and perfunctory diplomas only reinforced a hierarchical approach to schooling and, in turn, reproduced the division of labor that Work People's College sought to combat. Rather, the school exposed students to classroom situations that encouraged them to articulate their experiences, to raise their level of social consciousness, and to give them practice in speaking before groups.[41]

The school facilitated this process. Small classes certainly contributed to it. Students and teachers appeared to be highly motivated as well. Although students possessed extensive work experience, they usually lacked formal schooling. Instructors adapted their teaching methods to their students' backgrounds by painstakingly reviewing the lessons and devoting time to students to ensure that they comprehended the material. Wiita remembered his experiences as a student in Sirola's classroom, just prior to the College's transition from socialism to industrial unionism:

> Sirola's lectures were well prepared and well thought out. His delivery was [easy] to absorb and digest. Sirola also systematically held question periods in conjunction with his lectures, to make his students think and in order to find out what they had absorbed from his lecture. He also made them think accurately. When he asked

> questions, he was not satisfied with haphazard answers. He demanded, "let's answer the question exactly," when a student had given an indefinite answer. He was trying to make the students think independently, not just listen to the lectures.[42]

This process continued after the transition to industrial unionism. In 1926 Clifford Ellis captured the intense, yet cooperative, spirit of the classroom:

> We opened with reading in class of Mary E. Marcy's "Shop Talks on Economics." Its words are simple. Its lessons are direct. They reflect the daily experience of the workers. The students read back a paragraph at a time. From the blackboard the instructor followed step by step, turning now and then to the board to illustrate in graphic outline some cogent lesson of the text. The students were earnest and attentive. They did not laugh when some reader stumbled over an unfamiliar word. They were there to help, not to ridicule.[43]

Fred Thompson, the school's principal, gives us an even clearer picture of the pedagogy. Students were not to be passive learners; teachers were to dictate neither the learning process nor content. He recalled:

> The overall purpose was to get people doing things that led them to hunt up information; have people put on skits, have them practice soap-boxing. I tried to get it so they were doing and I was the instigator, rather than the lecturer. I found that one of the best ways to get people actually to use their noodle and find something else was to get them into teams for a debate. We would debate all kinds of subjects. Topics would come up, somebody would say, "Let's debate this thing." In general, while we had classes that were named various subjects, I would say as far as I was concerned, the whole thrust of the thing was to get people interested in finding something else and then getting on their hind legs and talking about it. I'll admit that every once in a while I would find that it was degrading into lectures, because the easiest way [is] you tell it to them and put some things on the blackboard. But I found that was the poorest way that you could devise to transmit information, a very poor way.[44]

Students and teachers faced a hectic and demanding schedule; classes began at 8:00 a.m. and ended in the evening. Students usually attended classes 20 hours a week, with evenings occupied by debates or lectures. Eli Hill, a student, humorously portrayed his daily experiences in a poem that parodied "The Night Before Christmas":

'Twas the minute before seven, when all through the house,
Not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse;
When all of a sudden the cow-bell would clang,
The students would get up with a clatter and bang.

. . .

When the breakfast bell rings, the bunch would stampede,
Right through the snow drifts at breath-taking speed;
A few stragglers would come after others had ate,
For they nursed the bad habit of getting up late.

. . .

At nine o'clock sharp the class bell would crash,
To classroom B they'd go in a dash;
The room would be full of hoots and cat-calls,
But the noise was abated by Fellow Worker Hall.

. . .

Next is the period of Charlie Marx,
This is a class where they all have bad marks;
Thompson calls Marx a volume of jokes,
But I think he's screwy, its nothing but a hoax.

. . .

Some would go back to wrestle with Marx,
While others would be torturing their saxophones and harps;
Industrial Unionism is neither tabooed,
For its ambitiously studied in room twenty-two.

. . .

With all this commotion being forced to endure,
No wonder my marks in Economics were poor;
When all this racket would slowly subside,
I'd flop into my bed at my room-mate's side.[45]

"In the future," T. Kekkonen wrote in a 1924 advertisement for the school, "working-class education is more important in view of the necessary revolutionary change that is expected to take place in the control of the means of production and distribution." Therefore, Work People's College did not educate workers "to rise out of" their social class, but trained them "to become a more powerful factor in the class struggle."[46] The College's social and educational goals rejected bourgeois ideology propagated by the formal school system. By teaching English to Finnish adult working-class immigrants and imbuing them with socialist and latter IWW doctrine, the founders and proponents of the school hoped that its students, as labor activists, would contribute, in a Gramscian sense, to the political aspirations of the labor movement.

Although the school trained an estimated 1,600 to 2,000 such labor agitators, their roles have remained ambiguous. On the one hand, Fred Thompson expressed some disappointment because "it did not give the IWW a flock of well-trained effective organizers." On the other hand, he admitted that the school supplied numerous managers for the cooperative movement while others organized workers for the IWW in the Iron Range and in Cleveland. Still others worked for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). As Thompson recalled, "the students provided leaven for the labor movement through their work in the CIO organizing campaigns."[47]

SUCCESS OF BOURGEOIS HEGEMONY

The maintenance of hegemony assumes different strategies and forms, and is a never-ending process. George Lipsitz puts this experience in cruder, but clearer, terms:

> . . . it is almost as if the ideological dogcatchers have to be sent out every morning to round up the ideological strays, only to be confronted by a new group of loose mutts the next day. Under these conditions, dominant groups can ill afford to assume their own society is wholly pacified, although of course it is in their interest to have others think all opposition has been successfully precluded or contained.[48]

The bourgeoisie ensures its position by any means. It can persuade workers that the maintenance of the status quo is in their own best interests. The ruling class can also accommodate alternative and counter-hegemonic cultural forces by neutralizing, changing, or actually incorporating them. None of this precludes the use of force, "the apparatus of State coercion, which 'legally' ensures the discipline of those groups which do not 'consent' either actively or passively."[49]

Work People's College eventually closed in 1941. While the school withstood the financial hardships of the Great Depression, it fell victim to bourgeois hegemony and ideological sectarianism. Acculturation created serious problems for the College. By 1930 almost 90% of all Finnish immigrants ten years of age or older could speak English. Second generation, English-speaking Finns avoided Work People's College not only because, like virtually all children of immigrants, they wanted to escape Old World influences and to be "real" Americans, but also because they appeared to be deeply ashamed of their immigrant parents' radicalism.[50] The hegemony that their parents and grandparents had tried desperately to counteract proved to be too powerful and pervasive.

The school's unswerving loyalty to the IWW had alienated it from the broader Finnish radical community. The College had disavowed any connections with the Socialist Party and Finnish socialists by 1914. Although the school trained managers for the vital Finnish cooperative movement of the 1920s and 1930s, it never formally aligned with it. Communism too was anathema to the Finnish Wobblies during the 1920s; indeed, this reflected the stand of most IWWers, as Melvyn Dubofsky summarizes:

> Still dedicated to syndicalism and to nonviolent direct action, they found repugnant a movement based upon control of the state and the violent seizure of power. Committed to the concept of industrial democracy, they found alien the Bolshevik principles of dictatorship of the proletariat and democratic centralism. Opposed to all forms of coercion and bureaucracy, they looked upon the Soviet system with deep suspicion.[51]

The IWW and the Work People's College likewise rejected the New Deal legislation of the 1930s and refused to endorse the CIO movement.

Wobblies criticized both Section 7a of the NIRA and the 1935 Wagner Act for placing government precisely where it did not belong, in labor-management relations. As a result, the IWW was left behind in the successful campaign for industrial unionism--albeit minus radical-social change.

Finally, the state had long before emasculated the IWW. The 1919 nationwide government purge of the union included the arrest of Leo Laukki of Work People's College. While out on bail, he fled to the Soviet Union, leaving the school without ideological leadership. And, as Kivisto points out, troops from Minnesota's National Guard, which had recently returned from the Mexican campaign against Pancho Villa, attacked numerous Finnish socialist halls and demolished the IWW offices in Duluth. He further hints that a mysterious fire that destroyed the newly constructed building, as well as damaged the main building, on the school's campus may be attributable to the soldiers' patriotic fervor.[52] Anti-red hysteria found expression too in the form of the Lusk Committee, created by the New York State Legislature in May 1919, to investigate Bolshevism in that state. It never set out to scrutinize either the Finns or Work People's College in Duluth; but it did, accusing the "Finnish Working People's College" as the "mainstay of Finnish radicalism in this country."[53]

Therefore, bourgeois hegemony asserted itself. Whatever form it assumed, whether through the acculturation of the Finns, the legitimation of apolitical industrial unionism, or suppression of the radical labor movement, hegemony eventually won.

NOTES

I appreciate the valuable comments and criticisms of Bruce Nelson and Peter Hanrahan on earlier drafts of this paper.

1. Industrial Pioneer 3 (August 1925): 27. Covington Ami represented a pseudonym for Covington Hall, an old "poet-warrior" for the IWW. He taught both at Commonwealth College and Work People's College. See Covington Hall, Dreams and Dynamite: Selected Poems, ed. David Roediger (Chicago: Charles Kerr, 1985).

2. "The Need of Workers' Education," Industrial Pioneer 1 (October 1923): 37-38.

3. David Montgomery, The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 2.

4. Paula Allman, "Gramsci, Freire and Illich: Their Contributions to Education for Socialism," in Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader, ed. Tom Lovett (London: Routledge, 1988), 93.

5. Antonio Gramsci, The Modern Prince and Other Writings (New York: International Publishers, 1978), 77, 99; Antonio Gramsci: Letters from Prison, ed. Lynne Lawner (New York: Harper & Row, 1973); Richard Johnson, "Three Problematics: Elements of a Theory of Working-Class Culture," in Working-Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory, eds. John Clarke, Charles Critcher, and Richard Johnson (London: Hutchinson, 1979), 201-37.

6. Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, eds. Quinton Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971); Martin Carnoy, "Education, Economy and the State," in Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education: Essays on Class, Ideology and the State, ed. Michael W. Apple (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 79-126.

7. Allman, "Gramsci, Freire and Illich," 101; Harold Entwistle, Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

8. James Weinstein, The Decline of American Socialism in America, 1912-1925 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967), 84-5; Ira Kipnis, The American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 246-47; George Cotkin, "The Socialist Popularization of Science in America, 1901 to the First World War," History of Education Quarterly 24 (Summer 1986): 201-14.

9. William J. Reese and Kenneth N. Teitelbaum, "American Socialist Pedagogy and Experimentation in the Progressive Era: The Socialist Sunday School," History of Education Quarterly 23 (1983): 429-54; Kenneth N. Teitelbaum, "Schooling for 'Good Rebels': Socialist Education for Children in the United States, 1900-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1985).

10. Marius Hansome, World Workers' Educational Movements: Their Social Significance (1931 report, New York: AMS Press, 1968), 299-311; Kipnis, The American Socialist Movement, 257; David A. Shannon, The Socialist Party in America: A History (New York: Macmillan, 1955), 9.

11. Philip S. Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States, Vol. 4: The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917 (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 147-51; Joseph Conlin, Bread and Roses Too: Studies of the Wobblies (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), 80.

12. Industrial Pioneer 1 (October 1923): 39.

13. Dagmar Schultz, "The Changing Political Nature of Workers' Education: A Case Study of the Wisconsin School for Workers" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1972), 53; Sisterhood and Solidarity: Workers' Education for Women, 1914-1984, eds. Joyce L. Kornbluh and Mary Frederickson (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984); Joyce L. Kornbluh, A New Deal for Workers' Education (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

14. Richard J. Altenbaugh, Education for Struggle: The American Labor Colleges of the 1920s and the 1930s (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); Jonathan D. Bloom, "Brookwood Labor College, 1921-1933: Training Ground for Union Organizers" (Master's thesis, Rutgers University, 1978); Charles F. Howlett, "Brookwood Labor College and Worker Commitment to Social Reform," Mid-America 61 (1979): 47-66; Raymond and Charlotte Koch, Educational Commune: The Story of Commonwealth College (New York: Schocken Books, 1972); William H. Cobb, "Commonwealth College: A History" (Master's thesis, University of Arkansas, 1960).

15. Shannon, The Socialist Party, 44; John I. Kolehmainen, "The Inimitable Marxists: The Finnish Immigrant Socialists," Michigan History 36 (1952): 395-405; Richard J. Altenbaugh and Rolland Paulston, "Work People's College: A Finnish Folk High School in the American Labor College Movement," Paedagogica Historica 18 (1978): 237-56.

16. Douglas J. Ollila, Jr., "The Work People's College: Immigrant Education for Adjustment and Solidarity," in For the Common Good: Finnish Immigrants and the Radical Response to Industrial America, eds. Michael G. Karni, et al. (Superior, Wisc.: Tyomies Society, 1977), 99-122; Peter Kivisto, Immigrant Socialists in the United States: The Case of Finns and the Left (Rutherford, N.J.: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), 107-9.

17. Guss Aakula, "Short Sketches of the Features of Tÿovaen Opisto, Work People's College, Duluth, Minnesota," n.p., unpub. and undated ms., trans. Eva Lahonen and ed. Linda Hoshal, Duluth Public Library; Articles of Incorporation and By-laws of the Work People's College (Duluth: 1929), the Immigration History Research Center (IHRC), University of Minnesota, St. Paul.

18. Ollila, "The Work People's College," 87-88, 101; Kivisto, Immigrant Socialists, 107, 154.

19. Arne Halonen, "The Role of Finnish-Americans in the Political Labor Movement" (Master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 1945), 65; Ollila, "The Work People's College," 102, 106; John Wiita, "Tÿovaen Opisto--Working People's College," n.p., unpub. and undated ms., IHRC, St. Paul. Wiita, like Aakula, was a former student, instructor, and board member at the school.

20. Quoted in Halonen, "The Role of Finnish-Americans," 65.

21. Aakula, "Short Sketches," 2; Ollila, "The Work People's College," 101; Hans R. Wasastjerna, History of the Finns in Minnesota (New York Mills, Minn.: Northwestern Publishing Co., 1957), 228.

22. Ollila, "The Work People's College," 106; Wiita, "Tÿovaen Opisto," 2-3; George Sirola, "The Finnish Working People's College," International Socialist Review 14 (August 1913): 102-4.

23. Wiita, "Tÿovaen Opisto," 4; Ollila, "The Work People's College," 102.

24. Wasastjerna, History of the Finns, 230; Ollila, "The Work People's College," 105.

25. Letter from John Olli to Richard J. Altenbaugh, 30 December 1978; Ollila, "The Work People's College," 107.

26. Letter from Fred Thompson to Altenbaugh, 4 February 1983.

27. Kivisto, Immigrant Socialists, 151-52.

28. Halonen, "The Role of Finnish-Americans," 54.

29. Douglas O. Ollila, "From Socialism to Industrial Unionism (IWW): Social Factors in the Emergence of the Left-Labor Radicalism Among Finnish Workers on the Mesabi, 1911-1919," in The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives, eds. Michael G. Karni, et al. (Turku, Finland: Institute for Migration, 1975), 55-88.

30. Quoted in Halonen, "The Role of Finnish-Americans," 69.

31. Halonen, "The Role of Finnish-Americans," 71-73; Ollila, "From Socialism to Industrial Unionism (IWW)," 163-64.

32. The Controversy Within the Finnish Socialist Organization of United States, Its Issues and Reasons (Superior, Wisc.: Middle District Committee of the National Finnish Socialist Organization of the United States, 1914), n.p.

33. Wiita, "Tÿovaen Opisto," 8-9; Industrial Workers of the World Collection, box 137, folder 1, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University (WSU), Detroit; Ollila, "The Work People's College," 103; Kivisto, Immigrant Socialists, 139-41.

34. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, The Rebel Girl: An Autobiography (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 135-36.

35. William D. Haywood, The Autobiography of Big Bill Haywood (New York: International Publishers, 1976), 264.

36. Ibid., 282; Work People's College Collection, folder 26, stock register, alphabetical list, IHRC, St. Paul.

37. Work People's College Announcement of Courses, 1923-24 (Duluth: Work People's College, 1923), 2. (Available at IHRC.)

38. Ibid., 3-5.

39. Ibid., 6; Articles of Incorporation, 9-10. Letter to Altenbaugh from Sulo Peltola, 9 April 1983. He was a former student at the college.

40. Clifford B. Ellis, "What Life Means to a Worker," Industrial Pioneer 4 (May 1926): 14-18.

41. For theoretical and practical discussions of radical pedagogy, see Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Seabury Press, 1970); and Studies in Socialist Pedagogy, eds. Theodore Mills Norton and Bertell Ollman (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978).

42. Wiita, "Tÿovaen Opisto," 7.

43. Ellis, "What Life Means," 15.

44. Personal interview with Fred W. Thompson, 20 October 1984.

45. Industrial Workers of the World Collection, box 137, folders 13, 29, WSU, Detroit.

46. T. Kekkonen, "Education as a Social and Mass Problem," Industrial Pioneer 2 (November 1924): 42.

47. Thompson interview.

48. "A Round Table: Labor, Historical Pessimism, and Hegemony," Journal of American History 75 (June 1988): 115-62.

49. Gramsci, The Modern Prince, 124.

50. Altenbaugh, Education for Struggle, chap. 7, "The End of the Labor Colleges."

51. Melvyn Dubofksy, We Shall Be All: A History of the IWW (New York: Quadrangle, 1969), 462-63, 477-78.

52. Kivisto, Immigrant Socialists, 156.

53. "Says 300,000 Finns in U.S. Are 'Reds,'" New York Times, 28 Dec. 1919, sec. I, p. 7, col. 1.

DANGEROUS KNOWLEDGE: CANADIAN WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE DECADES OF DISCORD

Michael R. Welton

INTRODUCTION: SCHOOLS OF LABOR, LABOR'S SCHOOLS

Labor history is a thriving academic enterprise in Canada; the study of workers' education is not. Nonetheless, adult educational historians are turning some attention to recovering the educational dimensions of workers' culture and politics (Welton, 1986; 1987), and several prominent labor historians (Kealey & Palmer, 1982; Palmer, 1983) have, in focusing on workers' attempts to create an oppositional culture, opened up important questions. How do workers in particular times and places come to understand themselves, their work, their social institutions, competing ideologies? How do they acquire a set of competencies? How do they not only adapt to, but act transformingly in, societies presenting formidable barriers to autonomous workers' education? When we examine processes of industrial conflict and change through the learning lens, we can see that the battles are always intellectual and practical. Particular forms of social and political action proceed from an idea that alternatives to capitalism are necessary and possible. Before persons can change their behavior and their society, they must first be enlightened as to that possibility. Collective enlightenment (the transformation of collective self-understanding and identity) is the learning catalyst, empowering actors to engage in, within limits, transformative action in the world. The struggles of workers in the turbulent decades under scrutiny can be viewed as a contest between supporters of conflicting visions of what constitutes valid enlightenment, empowerment, and transformative action. Thus, given the importance of ideas in generating action, and the importance of education in the creation and promotion of these ideas, education must always be considered in attempts to understand the larger processes of social conflict and change (Fay, 1987; Maciejko, 1986; Simon, 1984). To understand and perhaps explain the wonderful complexities of workers' education, we need to situate workers' education in multiple contexts and discursive fields, examine the sites workers create for reflection (the organization of enlightenment), the critical themes they examine, and the outcomes of learning processes (the organization of action).

We are all aware of the notorious difficulties in delineating the boundaries of workers' education. For my purposes, the boundaries of workers' education ought to be drawn such that we can study both the "schools of labour" and "labour's schools." Simply defined, the schools of labor are the socially organized work places, embedded in networks of economic, social, and political control. Important technical, social, political and ideological experiential learning is occurring in the work place (Marx called the work place the "harsh but hardening school of labour"), and perhaps the strike is the most important learning occasion directly linked to the work site. Labor's schools are those spaces workers themselves, their leaders or sympathetic pedagogues open up for reflection on the meaning of their work and culture. Labor's schools take many forms: (a) "Educational moments" woven into particular social practices such as the assembly meeting (the Knights of Labour saw these as "schools of instruction") or political party activity; (b) specific educational forms created by the workers themselves (journals, newspapers, forums, etc.); and (c) educational forms provided for workers by agencies and institutions outside the workers' own organizations (WEA, University Extension programs).

In this exploratory paper, I am particularly interested in what I take to be a rather fascinating puzzle. In our ordinary language use in the field of adult education, we do, indeed, distinguish adult from workers' education (and wonder about some of the issues at the interface), and often talk about the emergence of "adult education" (Stewart, 1987) in, say, the 1920s. There are several ways of understanding this. While we all admit that adult learning is present at all times and places, we must reject the idea that "adult education" has an essence that only need be represented in appropriate, value-neutral scientific language. Adult education, however, repeatedly resists paradigmatic control, slipping and sliding out of our professional and scientific grasp. Like the predator in Schwarzenegger's film, The Predator, it blends with the environment at times and then, when threatened, becomes visible, embodied. The field of adult education is something like this creature. Adult education is made visible, given a body, only when it is constituted by a "discursive field" (ideas, texts, theories, use of language). But this constituting process is not a unitary, totalizing act. Competing discourses jostle and struggle with one another over the control of the constituting process. In unsettling times of historical transition (Canada from the late 19th to early 20th century was shifting to a monopoly form of capitalist production and relations) oppositional forms of adult learning erupt in a multiplicity of sites precipitating the struggle to constitute "adult education."

Kathleen Rockhill's work on the professional construction of adult education practice in the U.S. suggests that "adult education" as a professional practice was constructed quite consciously to exclude socialism (viewed as dangerous knowledge), and she details the set of ideological constructs used to perform this task (Rockhill, 1985). The professional "discursive field" wins out in the U.S. However, this only subjugates alternative knowledge forms, casting them outside the arbitrarily delineated field. Still, they hover at the edges of the field, waiting for their time.

Discursive practices are, of course, related in complex ways to nondiscursive practices (social systems, class and gender divisions, economic needs, institutions). Particular discursive practices are intimately bound up with social power and control. Knowledge/power, Foucault has taught us, cannot be thought apart (Foucault, 1980). This insight demands that we pay attention to the way adult education discourse sets the limits on what counts as authentic educational practice, and perhaps more important, social and political action. Adult educational discourses might be read as a very important way that our society organizes its power relations.

My strategy in this paper (which examines the "Indian Summer of Working Class Culture, 1896-1922") is, first, to characterize the political economy and the labor movement's sense of collective identity, and then to examine the educational thought and initiatives occurring within the workers' movement and those agencies outside the movement itself. As noted, this paper focuses on the competing discursive fields vying for hegemony and control of the field. My conclusion is that some adult educators have, as one of their jobs, the quelling of the insurrections of subjugated knowledges. Others, it seems, have the task of participating in the insurrection itself.

THE INDIAN SUMMER OF WORKING CLASS CULTURE, 1896-1922

From the late 19th century until the end of World War I (spanning the Laurier-Borden years), Canada was a nation being transformed. As the monopoly form of capitalism emerged--a ragged process of uneven economic development and labor market segmentation--new mines, mills, factories, and railway camps dotted the country. Three million new Canadians poured into the country to work in the new industries and produce the "prairie gold" as the Canadian west opened up for agricultural development and settlement. To Canadianize the immigrant became, for some educators, the "one great commanding problem" of the time (Anderson, 1918; Fitzpatrick, 1923; Woodsworth, 1909). People flooded into the cities altering the balance between city and rural dweller. Canadians were now confronted with another "learning challenge"--how to learn to cope with urban life (perhaps the central concern of social thinkers in Canada during this period) and how to preserve the rural way of life. Industrialization, immigration, urbanization--these were the critical societal learning challenges for beleaguered Canadians.

Historians have characterized the relationship between capital and labor in this period as especially conflictual and turbulent (Brown & Cook, 1974; Jamieson, 1968; Palmer, 1983). Work place restructuring and transformation confronted Canadian workers with a diverse set of problems. In south-central Ontario, for instance, skilled workers resisted the introduction of Taylorist technological changes (Heron & Storey, 1986; Palmer, 1983). More characteristic, however, were the strikes initiated by "less skilled" workers in the coal fields of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and B.C., the west coast fishing industry, and the Quebec textile industry. Strikes in these industries were often violently repressed. Workers learned some hard lessons about the capitalist state as they contended with the likes of B.C. coal baron James Dunsmuir who vehemently declared that he hated unions because they wanted to manage "his mines." Perhaps one of the most evocative metaphors for this period can be drawn from Cape Breton. Protesting their wretched conditions in community and work site, over three thousand striking UMWA miners planned a giant parade in Glace Bay, July 1909. After listening to some speeches at the parade grounds, they marched, led by their leaders. Things went smoothly until they reached Cadegan's Bank, which separates the towns of Glace Bay and Dominion. As they crossed the bridge, the leaders were shocked to find a machine gun mounted on the steps of the Roman Catholic Church of Immaculate Conception, the army poised nearby, ready to fire (Mellor, 1983).

Canadian workers did, indeed, reflect on the critical themes that swashbuckling corporate capitalism was placing on the "curriculum." A multiplicity of labor's schools ("pure and simple" international craft unionism, laborism, Christian socialism, syndicalism, revolutionary Marxism) competed for an audience fragmented by region, nature of the industry, ethnicity, and gender. But for a brief historic moment in Canadian working-class history, the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, an eclectic radicalism infused with new social principles--the exuberance of wartime radicalism, international working class advance--created a climate in which proletarian victory seemed possible (Palmer, 1983). Education, we have said, must always be considered in attempts to understand the larger process of social conflict and change. We now provide a synoptic look at workers' education in Winnipeg from 1912 to 1921, with a side glance to Cape Breton, before turning to an analysis of conflicting discursive fields within "adult education" during this period.

What sites did the resilient Winnipeg workers create for the "organization of enlightenment?" What critical themes did they examine? What were the learning outcomes? The most eclectic of the workers' educational projects in Winnipeg was the People's Forum. Originating with social gospel/social work activities in the city's legendary north end in 1910, the originators of the Forum included people who, during the War years, would become convinced of the need to create a fundamentally different society--a cooperative commonwealth. Labor's pedagogues included the Christian socialist pacifist J. S. Woodsworth, Francis Beynon, a radical feminist fired from the Grain Growers' Guide for antiwar and anticapitalist activities, and A. V. Thomas, her brother-in-law, also fired from the conservative Manitoba Free Press.

Operating independently of the Winnipeg school system until 1914, the People's Forum held regular Sunday meetings in local theatres until it floundered in 1917, largely because of the commitment of many of its leaders to radical political activities. Throughout the turbulent years from 1912 to 1917, The Voice, a workers' paper which criticized capitalist abuses from an essentially Christian ethical position, carried weekly reports of events at the People's Forum in Winnipeg, and in a host of others in surrounding communities. The workers' press announced lectures and meetings and often carried verbatim lecture texts. The People's Forum, evidence suggests, encouraged participatory engagement, discussion always following lectures.

The workers' press did not provide equal coverage of the lectures of other educational forums--the YMCA and the University of Manitoba.

Judging from the reports in The Voice, the Forum debated a wide range of critical themes. Speakers called for increased political involvement because "our system of government . . . places great power in the hands of a few men," and numerous speakers addressed the issue of militarism, the need for social reconstruction and the need to teach children in their own language (McWilliams, 1914, n.p.). The latter theme signals the presence of an active ethnic presence in Winnipeg's north end. The antimilitarist theme offended some school board members, and forced the Forum committee into some compromises. But a number of forums, featuring men like the controversial methodist social gospeler Salem Bland of Wesley Theological College (Winnipeg was the leading center of the social gospel in Canada), continued to indict the War.

By the autumn of 1917, the leadership of the Forum had dispersed, but workers' educational activities continued unabated. Rejecting the People's Forum's affiliation with the public school system and "bourgeois reformism," the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council (WTLC) announced in September 1917 a series of Sunday afternoon lectures, featuring socialist and progressive speakers, to be held at the Labour Temple in the 1917-1918 winter session. This lecture series lasted only one season. But in 1918 the nondenominational Labour Church had begun, and included a program of Sunday afternoon lectures, featuring the "radical wing" of the People's Forum (J. S. Woodsworth, Fred Dixon, Salem Bland, & William Ivens, the Labour Church's instigator). The People's Forum and the Labour Church, bridged by the WTLC lecture series, formed a continuum of educational activity. Together, Maciejko (1986) wrote, they formed a "consistent and concerted program of workers' education initiated by the radicals and sustained by popular support" (p. 9). By the end of 1918, it seems safe to conclude, Winnipeg workers had been enlightened to the point where they believed that alternatives to capitalism were necessary and possible.

As working-class militancy quickened in 1918 and 1919, provoking great fear among the middle and upper classes (the notorious "Red Scare"), the educational campaign among workers intensified. Organized in March 1919 after the epochal Western Labour Conference, the One Big Union (OBU) sought to unify all workers in a single union which could achieve its purposes, economic or political, through general strikes. It would embody proletarian solidarity. The revolutionary syndicalism, though alienating highly skilled craft unions, caught the imagination of many Canadian workers for a flickering historical moment (McCormack, 1977). The linkage between the OBU and the Labour Church was strengthened when more conservative unionists took over the WTLC and the Western Labour News. Ivens, who would be jailed in the aftermath of the Winnipeg General Strike, left the News and joined the staff of the OBU Bulletin, and the latter weekly became the vehicle for informing people of Labour Church activities.

Perhaps the most significant development in Winnipeg in September 1919 was the Labour Church and OBU's call for the formation of a Labour College for Winnipeg after the bitter defeat of the General Strike of May and June. A parallel initiative, several years later, occurred in Nova Scotia--particularly amongst the radical coal miners, who were very interested in workers' education. The workers wanted a permanent provincial Labour College that would draw on the expertise of teachers and college professors (MacDonald, 1986). Nova Scotia workers would not get what they wanted, and would have to wait until St. Francis Xavier University provided educational services for workers in the late 1920s and 1930s. But St. Francis had its own agenda, and one major item was to quell the insurrection of communist knowledge and political action in industrial Cape Breton (Coady, 1939).

The OBU, itself, was also active in organizing classes and lectures. Of all the classes conducted by the OBU, those in economics were the most popular. From the beginning, the educational classes of the OBU were considered to be preliminary to the establishment of a Labour College in Winnipeg. With this dream in mind, Winnipeg workers wrote to the firebrand Scottish radical John McLean of the Glasgow Labour College, and also to the Rand School of Social Science. The international labor movement--at least its more militant wing--clearly thought they needed a permanent school to nurture their brand of oppositional consciousness. But a Canadian Labour College would not materialize until the 1960s, and then only under the watchful eye of reformist trade union bureaucrats running the Canadian Labour Congress.

Workers' education, however, was not confined to the Forum, the Labour Church, and the OBU. Radical political parties--an integral if fractious part of the configuration of labor's schools--were also involved in the movement in Winnipeg. The Socialist Party of Canada (SPC), tracing its origins to Winnipeg in 1890, but having its deepest roots amongst the hard rock miners of B.C.'s mountains, rigorously and dogmatically schooled its resolute vanguard in Marxist axioms. Animated by a chiliastic vision of capitalism's inevitable end, the SPC saw the education of the proletariat as its ultimate political function. Reform for SPCers was "powder sprinkled over the festering sores of that organism called human society" (McCormack, 1977, p. 54). They were convinced that workers needed only to learn Marx's analysis of capitalism and they would become revolutionaries. By 1910 the SPC was conducting study classes in economics (the curriculum focused on the need to abolish the wage system), and in Canadian history and English for immigrants. Like the Forum meetings, SPC classes were noted for audience participation. Undeniably, however, the sectarianism and impossibilism of the SPC (it eschewed, in principle if not always in practice, working with trade unions) was unattractive to many British-born Winnipeg members of the radical movement. Still, there can be no doubt that SPC leaders' analysis of a class-polarized society resonated deeply amongst many workers in the tense years at the end of World War I.

Other small but not insignificant socialist parties like the Social Democratic Party (SDP)--which split from the SPC in 1911--also arranged some evening classes during the 1912-1913 session. The SDP's brand of socialism, its tone and tactics, was more palatable to the broad-based Winnipeg left. The SDP juggled its Marxist principles and its commitment to work unceasingly for reforms, an approach that brought it considerable support, including that of eastern European immigrants. But its adult educational work was accomplished primarily through the People's Forum, and some of its members worked with the youth wing. Other parties--the Dominion Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party--engaged only sporadically in regular educational programs under their direct auspices. Their members were, however, involved in the educational programs of the People's Forum, OBU, and Labour Church, testifying to the importance placed on adult education by those actively seeking to restructure society in accordance with some variation of socialist principles.

What emerges from this synopsis of the educational activities of radical workers in Winnipeg, says Maciejko (1986), is not a "picture of random or purposeless activity, but a pattern with direction and consistency" (p. 13).

According to Allen Mills (1984), J. S. Woodsworth believed that: "The making of socialists . . . was an intellectual activity, requiring for its success a constant appeal to the spoken and written word. Socialism would arrive . . . through voluntary action that derived from the power of clear, methodological, and rational argument itself" (p. 105). Many radical workers shared Woodworth's faith in the power of intellectual activity as integral to the "organization of action." There was widespread recognition that education was essential to the change process itself. Even H. G. Fester, chair of the Ontario section of the WEA and committed to the WEA's program of "organized classes," recognized that radical organizations deserved a place in the "scheme of workers' education." Though labeling the radicals' educational work as "purely propagandist," Fester (1924) admitted that their numerous publications and educational activities had awakened some minds out of lethargy. From this knowledge of the power of ideas in the political battle came the proposal to place on the entrance of the OBU's Plebs Hall the inscription: "Read, Study, and Investigate, for in the application of the meaning of these words, we conquer" (Central Labour Council, 1920, n.p.).

But the workers' movement, in Winnipeg and elsewhere in Canada, did not conquer Canadian society. In May/June 1919, approximately 25,000 men and women struck in sympathy with the embattled workers of the city's building and metal trades; in other cities of Canada, workers staged massive support strikes. These political actions, which had social and political learning outcomes, testify, one might suggest, to the success of the teachings of labor's schools. Yet the strike was crushed, leaders associated with the OBU and several others were jailed (the OBU collapsed in 1920), the fragility of utopian hopes was revealed, and the basic reformism of the labor movement was exposed. Labor radicalism called forth its dialectical opposite, reaction from the dominant order: The Citizens' Committee of 1000 moved to suppress the strikers, special police raided labor halls and strike leaders' homes, and "foreign Bolsheviks" were jailed. Viewed through the workers' learning lens, we could hypothesize that the Winnipeg General Strike taught the workers how dangerous their knowledge was, the enormous difficulty of achieving a collective identity, and the fierce resistance to transformative action regarding basic power relations in the society. The General Strike , of 1919 led, like the collapse of the Knights of Labour in an earlier decade, into a new period of profound disillusion within working-class experience

(Palmer, 1983). The Indian summer had ended, fading into the winter night of the 1920s.

WORKERS' EDUCATION AND COMPETING DISCURSIVE FIELDS

Our picture of the adult educational discursive field in the first two decades of the 20th century is not yet complete. Writing two years after the Winnipeg General Strike, Father Jimmy Tompkins (1921)--himself desperately searching for ways to rouse rural Nova Scotians out of their "dismal apathy"--captured something of the sentiment present amongst thoughtful university educators when he declared in his pamphlet, Knowledge for the People:

> Old ways of thinking have been broken up and a new spirit today can no more be doubted than we were permitted to doubt, during the years between 1914 and 1917, that we were at war. Nowhere is this new spirit more in evidence than in the field of Education. No other idea has so gripped the people of the whole world as the desire for more knowledge, better intellectual training, and better organized effort in their various callings. It has gripped them *en masse*, and without regard to condition, class or circumstances. Men and women everywhere are clamouring for the equal opportunity that education and intellectual training give. (p. 3)

Significantly, Tompkins pointed approvingly to developments within the global University Extension movement and the Workers' Educational Association (WEA); he did not mention any of the forms of adult education present within the workers' movement itself. What Tompkins' veils in his ringing proclamation, framed within a liberal progressive discourse, is precisely how the universities and other emergent adult education forms (like Frontier College) understood the social crisis and what constituted legitimate educational practice. If labor radicalism--the outcome of informal and nonformal social and political learning processes--confronted the coercive apparatus of the state, these same workers also faced an ideological opposition that would, directly or indirectly, contest their educational practice.

The Canadian University Extension movement emerged in the first two decades of the 20th century. It, too, recognized the potential of adult education in resolving the social conflict. Although Queen's University organized some tutorial classes in 1889, the University of Alberta Extension Department, created in 1912, was really the first in the field. The University of Toronto organized its Extension Department in 1920. It provides a useful focal point, since it sponsored the first WEA tutorial classes for workers and is considered Canada's most prestigious center of higher learning.

In a three-page document simply entitled "University Extension," written in 1922, the University of Toronto presented its understanding of the nature and purpose of adult education. This seemingly innocuous document provides crucial insights into the way the university, as the socially and historically designated space for legitimate knowledge production and dissemination, was constructing adult education. From the opening line, this text is pervaded by a profound sense of danger and crisis. "At this moment," the anonymous author(s) declared, there is a "crisis in the whole world of education." How was the crisis perceived? Public schools and the technical training provided by universities had left out the "most important part" of education. Neither had developed the "power of thinking" or "useful criticism," but more significantly, neither had built up a "thoughtful, comprehending human spirit" (n.p.). The latter task was most urgent.

The crisis in education, for the text's author(s), only reflected a much deeper crisis--that of a class-polarized society. The author(s) contended that what now existed in Canada were two more or less unrelated standards of thinking and speaking. Canada was a severed society, speaking two warring ideological languages. "There is an immense danger to a country in the existence of two languages, the language of the cultivated and the language of the street, neither of which is really comprehensible to the other" (n.p.). The choice of the street/cultivated metaphor is significant. The languages of social transformation--products of workers' own learning and experience--are consigned to the street, the realm of the undisciplined, the untrained, the untutored, and the rebellious. Indeed, one catches in the text's identification of adult education with "formalized" instruction by "trained" tutors (adult education began with the offering of university courses) the notion that only knowledge cultivated by the professor/gardener is legitimate. For the author(s) contend that "if it could be brought about that more or less the same proportion of every class could be found in the ranks of thoughtful cultivated people, an immense stride would have been made in the abolition of class differences" (n.p.).

It is imperative that the university extend its "higher culture" to those classes previously neglected. Because the "whole basis of national unity rests upon the theory of the nation being an aggregation of persons who, on the whole, think alike, and it is very difficult for two sets of people to think alike who speak more or less different languages and think in different categories," a "large expansion" of adult education is called for. Incorporating the workers into this higher culture is intimately bound up with the extension metaphor: to extend means to control. The fundamental motivation for extending adult education is not, as suggested by Tompkins (1921) and "University Extension" (1922), to provide what the workers want (they demand, we just respond), but to promote social harmony between capital and labor. This is to be accomplished through the idealist project of creating a standardized, uniform, monologic culture. But this monologic voice can only speak its values by repressing workers' polyphonous voices. Adult education, as constructed by University Extension, had given itself an impossible task (like that of public schooling in mid-19th century Canada) of equalizing the classes without abolishing class domination.

Why was the WEA successfully established in Toronto at the end of World War I? To be sure, some workingmen had asked the University of Toronto to cooperate in establishing an organization similar to the British WEA. But working-class people were not the main impetus behind the founding of the WEA in Toronto. All of the key players--W. L. Grant, principal of Upper Canada College; Professors R. M. McIver and W. S. Milner; and Arthur Glazebrook, an exchange broker--believed that the foundations of democracy were under siege in a crassly materialistic age. Clearly alarmed by the Russian Revolution, the Winnipeg General Strike, and the OBU, and startled by the enormously increased strike activity, rapid growth of trade unionism, and expansion of labor political action in Ontario, these middle-class academics "sought to use the Association as a means to curb the spread of radicalism" (Radforth & Sangster, 1987, p. 75).

In an essay, "The Education of the Workingman," published in the prestigious Queen's Quarterly in 1919, W. L. Grant spoke gravely of the "flood of ideas" sweeping over the "civilized world." Nineteenth century laissez-faire individualism had collapsed and only the "cash nexus" seemed to be holding the society together. How could democracy endure? The working class wanted, in his view, a "new *concordat* between Capital and Labour and the State" (p. 160). They wanted to be owners alike in industry and politics. But only those who were "educated" were fit to take part in guiding the destinies of the state. Uneducated working people and citizens, Grant believed, leapt uncritically at every new idea. "Ideas without education" were "very dangerous fodder. Ideas without education mean the triumph of the half-baked; and the results of the triumph of the half-baked are manifest to the world in Russia today" (p. 160). Education, as construed by Grant, had to subjugate alternative knowledge forms produced in learning sites outside the control of those with disciplined and cultivated minds. If the "broad sunlight of education" were to be spread over the workers' miasma "of incoherent ideas," then adult education had to be organized. And the university would be the center, "the splendid fertilizing nucleus." Grant's constitution of adult education is neither innocent nor value-free. The call for "organized" (formal) adult education under the disciplinary eye of the trained tutor must, necessarily, exclude and delegitimate "unorganized" (nonformal/informal) learning. This tactic on the conceptual level is integral to the political struggle to ensure that the "perverted vision" of Bolshevism (now a symbol for dangerous learning) does not "widen itself to take in the whole country." Grant celebrated the British WEA--its historic links with Oxford--precisely because of its moderation. "The WEA," Grant opined, "is thus the educational side of the Labour Movement; a great school of Political Science for the working classes . . ." (p. 164). But the WEA, in Canada as in Britain, was only one of labor's schools, a good antidote to class struggle (Fieldhouse, 1987).

All the educators who supported the WEA insisted that the teaching be done by university professors. "It is the University, after all," declared Glazebrook (1921), "that contains the treasury of knowledge and the training in method that are required." This would be a matter of some controversy. Writing to Grant on October 13, 1921, classics professor, W. S. Milner, thought that the "success of the WEA as an educational ideal was seriously imperilled." The controversy, one of numerous to dog the WEA's path until its demise in the late 1940s, was over union activist James Ballantyne's desire to teach a course in Marxian economics. Though not denying the right of the university to deal with Marx, Milner thought it both unwise and absurd to exercise this right. How could the university support a teacher from the workers' own ranks? Despairing and disconsolate, Milner took his stand for the "culture of mind and spirit." The "unhappy truth," as he saw it, was that the WEA had "fallen into the hands of Labour that is more anxious for power than for culture, and that the spiritual force of the movement is on the ebb."

The WEA was, in fact, contested terrain throughout its history (Radforth & Sangster, 1987; Welton, 1986). Conflicting visions of adult education--its purpose and process--would be articulated by multiple voices. In the early years of the Association, a number of working men (like the Irishman Alf MacGowan of the International Typographical Union) believed that workers with more knowledge could help to improve the existing political and social system. They hoped it would be improved through a workers' educational movement that increased workers' understanding of political and social issues. These worker activists shared the academics' faith that truth could be examined in an unbiased way--the grand vision of the British WEA tutorial movement (Fieldhouse, 1985).

All agreed, too, that a technical education was not enough, and that workers needed access to a broader knowledge. Significantly, however, other workers emphasized the need for social justice and attacked the limitations of education in a class society and insisted on the social and collective purpose of the WEA. The redoubtable Winnipeg labor movement (a committee composed of J. S. Woodsworth, A. W. Putee, Fred Dixon, A. A. Heaps, & Salem Bland) shared this latter conviction. In 1915 they had met with University of Manitoba Professor J. A. Dale to discuss the formation of a chapter of the WEA. From the start they were suspicious. The University of Manitoba, the committee claimed, was for the rich and provided only "scraps of knowledge" for workers. After the meeting the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Congress (TLC) decided not to support the WEA because they had to deal with professors who were in the grip of capitalist ideology. The WEA was unable to establish itself in Winnipeg until 1938. This mutual suspicion between the labor movement and the universities is one of the important subtexts in the history of Canadian, as well as global, workers' education.

In discussing this disparity of views, Radforth and Sangster (1987) observe:

> Common language such as "education for citizenship" masked some very significant differences between the aims of the educationalists and those of the labor activists. The class differences of the two groups do much to explain the divergent meanings behind their words. On the

> one hand, the educationalists saw the WEA as, in part, an experiment in social control. They sought to use their positions as academics and intellectuals to maintain existing power relations in society. On the other hand, the labor activists hoped to further the cause of labor and to help redress the imbalance of power in society. These fundamental differences existed within the Association from the start. Inevitably, as time progressed, the underlying tensions would surface. (p. 78)

In 1922 the Canadian Forum noted that throughout Canada workers were "suspicious" of both the WEA and Frontier College. What was at the root of worker suspicion of Frontier College? Alfred Fitzpatrick, a disillusioned Presbyterian minister, organized the Reading Camp Association in 1899 (it would become Frontier College in 1919). For Fitzpatrick, the laissez-faire state of the late 19th and early 20th centuries had neglected the men working in isolated and wretched railway, lumbering, and mining camps (the "bunkhouse men"). Through silence and lack of intervention, the Canadian state legitimated the exploitation of the campmen's labor and their maintenance as uneducated wage-slaves. Nor did the trade unions pay any attention to these men. Continually calling on the state to intervene in deploying resources for neglected adult learners (his dominant metaphor), Fitzpatrick would be repeatedly rebuffed, despite his powerful moral argument that the state derived its funds from frontier industries.

In this text, The University in Overalls, Fitzpatrick (1923) described the origins of Frontier College as an educational mission to the bunkhouse men. Fitzpatrick's adult educational discourse is an unique mix of radical and conservative elements. He was appalled at the elitism of Canadian universities and criticized them for their ivory-tower separation from the real world of the hand. "Classes," he declared, "must be held, not only in the schools and universities, but in the shops, on the works, in the camps and fields and settlements of the frontier" (p. ix). The University of Toronto could hardly find the resources to run a few tutorial classes! In an eloquent chapter, "Education and the Frontier Camps," Fitzpatrick argued that the urban-based middle class had appropriated the labor of those toiling and sweating in the mines and camps. Their wealth production, he said, had endowed the resources used by the middle and upper class in the cities. Fitzpatrick castigated the philanthropists who endowed the colleges and ignored the "living and housing conditions of their own workers in the camp and mills." The task of educationalists was nothing less than "to devise ways and means of taking the school and college to the frontier" (p. 42). The men of the camps needed justice, not charity.

Fitzpatrick's educational vision is rooted in the social regenerative assumptions of late Victorian society (Cook, 1985). He argued that education was for all men and not for a privileged class alone. Appropriating Marx's notion of humanization through labor, but not his radical politics, Fitzpatrick--the early 20th century social gospeller--thought the solution to structurally rotted problems lay with the redemption of the individual through empathetic provision of basic adult education (literacy and citizenship training). This is a paternalistic and moralistic vision. Yet, Fitzpatrick stood outside the establishment with the voiceless and the mute, unlike the patrons of the Mechanics' Institutes and supporters of the Toronto WEA. His discourse was patronizing but spoken with a deeply humanistic accent. His social-gospel ideology moved him towards the neglected while simultaneously constraining his educational practice, repressing more overtly political education for social transformation and a nonconformist conception of citizenship.

But there can be no doubt that, like W. L. Grant and other early university supporters of the WEA, Fitzpatrick feared the "Bolsheviks." When strikes swept the camps in 1919, he contended that the laborer-teachers' activities would determine whether the camps would produce "Lenins or Lincolns" (Cook, 1987, p. 47). Working under the banner, "Welfare-Instruction-Canadianizing-Leadership," the laborer-teachers' objectives were: (a) To educate the worker and give him a fighting chance, (b) to educate and citizenize [*sic*] the immigrant, and (c) to meet the "Red agitator" on his own ground. Fitzpatrick emerged from the social dislocation and political ferment of the War more convinced than ever that the laborer-teacher could exercise a moral-redemptive influence on the "dangerous foreigners" (Avery, 1979).

Fitzpatrick seemed to believe that with a little education, a camp worker would cease his "evil" habits. He envisioned his Reading Camp instructors as models of "staunch Canadians," inculcating Anglo-Canadian and Protestant values. Thus, with some education and paternalistic guidance from the "right" sector of society (he recruited middle-class university students), not only would the campmen's lives be improved, but this achievement would help stabilize the social order. Fitzpatrick, in spite of his humanism, instrumentalized adult education in the interests of social harmony.

Linking Fitzpatrick's commitment to "Canadianize," the "red scare," and the labor movement, Donald Avery speculates that organizations like Frontier College aggravated the immigrants' sense of their own cultural identification. Shunned or patronized by traditional nativist institutions, alienated immigrant workers turned to groups who sought to transform Canadian society through revolution--the IWW, OBU, and Canadian Communist Party (Avery, 1979).

Frontier College's educational radicalism and political conservatism represents a distinct form of adult educational discourse in the decades of discord. Fitzpatrick challenged the conventional educational wisdom of the day. Canadian universities were small, inward-looking institutions with rigid academic requirements, and the Extension movement (with the possible exception of the University of Alberta) was pathetic and forlorn. While more radical political voices would surely have contested Fitzpatrick's attempt to contain rebellious knowledge, they would have been sympathetic to his call that the workers be offered bread and not stones.

CONCLUDING CRITICAL THEOREMS

1. The struggles of workers in the turbulent decades of discord can be viewed as a contest between supporters of conflicting visions of what constitutes valid enlightenment, empowerment, and transformative action. A multiplicity of labor's schools offered their vision of the purpose of adult education in a society viewed as essentially conflictual. Outside labor's schools, adult educators offered their vision of adult education in a society viewed as essentially harmonious (though momentarily divided).

2. "Adult education" does not have an essence; competing discourses struggle with one another for hegemony. Adult education is always both normative and descriptive, and does not mean the same thing to everyone.

3. Particular discursive practices are intimately bound up with social power and control. Adult education discourse sets the limits of what counts as authentic educational practice. This theorem seems borne out in our analysis of how the legitimate and authoritative formal educational institutions (University Extension and WEA) attempted to constitute their

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particular discourse as normative. The success of this maneuver to establish discursive hegemony is bound up with the power relations of the society--the ability of the dominant order to block/manage, coercively and conceptually, the autonomous contestatory learning processes erupting in a multiplicity of learning sites (work place, community, trade union, political party, newspaper, etc.).

4. While a simplistic social control model of the WEA or University Extension is inadequate to grasp the complexities of workers' education, the extension metaphor signals a move on the part of the dominant order to manage and constrain knowledge and action that threatens social order.

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FANNIA MARY COHN: AN EDUCATIONAL LEADER IN LABOR AND WORKERS' EDUCATION, HER LIFE AND TIMES

Huey B. Long and Constance Lawry

Workers' education in the United States has a rich, tumultuous and only partially reported history. Its heritage as an organized and institutionalized activity can be traced to evening schools for apprentices in colonial America and to the Mechanics Institutes of the early national period. Yet, the most enduring references to workers' education are located in the period from about 1890 to 1925 when workers in the garment union industries supplied leadership in labor activism. Therefore, it is not surprising that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) produced one of the early leaders in workers' education: Fannia Mary Cohn. This paper is designed to place Miss Cohn's contributions within the historical context, provide a brief biographical sketch, conduct an analysis of her life and activities, identify her educational contributions, and draw conclusions.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Fannia Mary Cohn entered the United States in a stressful period. In many ways the nation was in the throes of change almost as wrenching as the change occurring in her native Russia. In contrast to the pogroms conducted against the Jews in Russia, the people of the United States were involved in a kind of ideological, philosophical, and economic class warfare. Weapons included ballots, books, and bullets. When Cohn was five years old the United States entered the last decade of the 19th century, years that Henry Commager (1970) described as ". . . the watershed of American history" (p. 42). Trauma associated with the changes continued as the "old" immigration from northern and western Europe shifted to the "new" (p. 46), including immigrants from the Volga and Tartar steppes who concentrated in the industrial cities (Nevins & Commager, 1956) and changed the labor movement.

This research was supported by the Oklahoma Research Center for Continuing Professional & Higher Education, College of Education, University of Oklahoma.

A new middle class also adopted new perspectives of life. Truth was relative rather than absolute, instrumental rather than abstract, and only partially revealed. Yet, they continued to think in terms of normal and abnormal:

> Rationality and peace, decent living conditions and equal opportunity, they considered "natural"; passion and violence, slums and deprivation, were "unnatural." Knowledge, they were convinced, was power, specifically the power to guide men into the future. (Weibe, 1967, p. 154)

The progressive new middle class championed education as a solution to many, if not most, of the problems of present and future. While the emphasis was frequently on public education, education for adults and education provided by nonschool agencies, organizations, and institutions received prominent attention. Simon Patten urged social workers to educate the poor. In turn, social worker Peter Roberts encouraged trade unions to educate the immigrants. Lester Ward expected the State to educate everyone. An uncritical faith in "education" almost matched the new middle-class devotion to "science" with which it was closely identified. Extraordinary expectations for an alert and informed citizenry were invested in education's promise.

Labor was not excluded from the prevailing interest in the efficacy of education, and the garment workers demonstrated an inordinate enthusiasm for the idea. Stolberg (1944) says:

> The influence of organized labor and particularly the ILGWU, on adult education--university extension, evening classes in the public schools, courses offered by private institutions such as the YMCA--is comparable only to the influence of pre-Civil war labor in bringing about free compulsory education in their country. (p. 283)

There are many reasons for the garment workers' leadership in workers' education. About 5% of the new immigrants of the latter 19th century were individuals with an intense urge for self-improvement. Furthermore, the garment workers were often "organized by intellectuals or semi-intellectuals who were exponents of some ideology or social faith"

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(Stolberg, 1944, p. 283). The unionization of the garment workers was not just an economic undertaking; it was also a romantic movement--based as are all romantic movements--on a panacea for social progress.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The fate of Fannia Mary Cohn and the history of the National Women's Trade Union League (NWTUL) are closely related. The NWTUL was founded in the United States in 1903 by a group of "leisure-class and working-class women brought together by a shared concern for the plight of women workers" (Jacoby, 1984, p. 5). Begun with a three-part mission of unionization, legislation, and education, the NWTUL's dominant focus was education by 1913.

In 1914 the league opened a national Training School for Women Organizers, one of the earlier workers' education programs established in the United States. Located in Chicago, the school's year-long curriculum was to be a blend of academic work (labor history, industrial relations, labor legislation, theory and practice of trade agreements, English, public speaking, and parliamentary procedures) and field work, which would be divided between organizing and administrative activities (Jacoby, 1984). Cohn, then president of Local 41 of the Kimono, Wrappers, and Housedress Workers' Union in New York, was one of its first three students.

Cohn's involvement with the NWTUL is typical of her lifelong relations with the labor movement. She had not been selected by the New York league of the NWTUL, which resented her appointment as a student without their approval. Similarly, her relations with the Chicago-based organizers of the school seems to have been strained. Of the three students admitted to the first year's program, Fannia Mary received conspicuously brief mention in NWTUL documents. Jacoby (1984) hints at two problems that may have affected Cohn's relationship with the NWTUL leaders: she was a socialist and a ". . . slightly irritable woman" (p. 9) who may have been more aloof, more independent, and less grateful to the NWTUL for the opportunity than NWTUL leaders expected.

By 1914 Cohn was already active in the ILGWU. In 1909 she was elected to the executive board of her newly organized local union, and she chaired the board from 1913 to 1914. She had begun work in 1905 as a sleevemaker in a garment factory, not out of economic necessity, but because, as she wrote in 1951, "I realized then that if I wanted to really understand the mind, the aspirations of the workers, I should experience the life of a worker in a shop" (as quoted by Wong, 1980, p. 154).

Born in Kletzk, Minsk, Russia, the fourth of five children of middle-class Jewish parents, Cohn's early life was confined to the land to which Catherine the Great had restricted Russia's Jews in 1791. Cohn's father managed a family-owned flour mill, and, as was the case with most Jewish families, the Cohns held education in high esteem. However, unlike most, the Cohns extended the privilege of education to their daughters. Stolberg (1944) describes Fannia Mary's education as "a good private education" (p. 288). Her private education was probably due to her mother's diligence; Cohn later reflected that "I was brought up by my mother on books" (Cohen, 1975, p. 9).

At the age of 16, Cohn joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party, a radical organization dedicated to transforming Russian society. However, as the Russian government stepped up its policy of restrictions and overt persecution of Jews, more and more Russian Jews sought refuge in radical organizations or in emigration from their native land. Over family objections, with steamship tickets from American cousins, she and her brother set sail for New York in 1904. Even so, Cohn later recalled: "One thing I promised my family was that I would continue my studies in the 'New World' as my mother wanted her children to be no less than professors" (Cohen, 1975, p. 9).

Cohn's assimilation into American life was assisted by the family members who welcomed her and her brother. She worked for a short time on Ellis Island as the representative of the American Jewish Women's Committee, assisting other immigrants on their arrival in this country. She resigned from this position because "it was too much of a charitable nature" (Cohen, 1975, p. 17). She rejected an offer of a partnership in the wholesale druggist supply house which her brother and brother-in-law owned in order to prepare for the Regents examinations to enter a college of pharmacy. However, in the midst of her studies she abruptly decided to go to work in the labor movement. She later conceded that "My family suggested that I complete my studies and then join the labor movement, but I rejected this as I did not want to come into it from 'without' but from 'within'" (Cohen, 1975, p. 17).

Fannia Mary's practical side was matched with an idealistic view. In commenting upon attracting working women to union membership she said, "I do not see how we can get girls to sacrifice themselves unless we discuss something besides trade matters. . . . There must be something more than the economic questions, there must be idealism" (Kessler-Harris, 1985, p. 119). She also reflected an idealistic view of social motherhood. She said "a woman is the mother; whether she has children or not her mission is to work for the good of the [human] race" (Payne, 1988, p. 124).

While in Chicago she was instrumental in organizing local unions. In August 1915 she led the workers in the first successful strike of Chicago's dress and white goods. When she returned to New York, her reputation as a successful union organizer had preceded her. She became the first woman elected to a vice presidency of the ILGWU, and she was the first female vice president of a major international union (Foner, 1980). Despite the fact that a large majority of the garment workers were women, a woman had not previously been elected to high union office, and the union leadership was not committed to organizing women, since their employment in the work force was considered temporary until they married and had children. Cohn was to spend her first years of national union leadership as an energetic and effective organizer of women's locals. However, as the ILGWU moved to establish its own Education Department, she was later able to merge her activism in the labor movement with her long-time commitments to education and to the transformation of society.

The originator of the Education Department of the ILGWU was Juliet Stuart Poyntz, a former history teacher at Barnard who became educational director of Local 25 in 1915. Poyntz is described by Stolberg (1944) as having a gifted and striking personality, "a woman with a rare combination of charm and force. She was by nature a zealot who later became a revolutionary extremist" (p. 286), and mysteriously disappeared from the

ILGWU's leadership. Stolberg credits Poyntz with initiating many of the educational activities that Cohn later directed.

During the crucial years of the establishment and early, vigorous activity of the ILGWU's Education Department, Fannia Cohn was its foremost and most consistent leader. As Wong (1984) writes, "Until the late 1940s the ILGWU was more than the leader of the workers' education movement in the garment industry; it was the movement" (p. 40). With the establishment of the ILGWU's Education Committee in 1916 under Juliet Poyntz, and its continuation after 1918 under Fannia Cohn, the ILGWU was committed to providing for both the economic and "spiritual" needs of its members through a general and wide-ranging education, involving individual self-improvement, social and intellectual respectability, and recreation. Wong reports:

> Cohn, in particular, believed that workers should not be deprived of the joys of a liberal education because of their age, their lack of formal schooling, or their class. Adult workers, as much as the sons and daughters of the upper class, deserved exposure to art, literature, music, drama, philosophy, and history. (p. 44)

However, in designing programs, both leaders "recognized that these women workers wanted their union to be more than a rallying point in the battle for economic justice; they wanted it to be a community in which they could learn, meet friends, and have fun" (Wong, 1984, p. 44). This recognition led to the establishment of a series of Unity Centers, organized first by Poyntz and continued by Cohn. Cohen (1975) reports that during this time the New York City Board of Education directed that only courses conducted in English would be permitted in public school buildings, and Cohn attempted to intercede on behalf of the garment workers. Even though many needle trades workers spoke only Yiddish, she was unsuccessful in convincing the Board to allow the Yiddish classes. By the end of 1918, there were five Unity Centers in New York City as well as a Workers' University for more advanced students that counted the eminent Charles Beard on its faculty.

In an effort to interest members by combining educational activities with leisure-time pursuits, Cohn took advantage of the Jewish immigrants' fondness for the theatre by initiating

> lectures on the trends of modern drama and a course which combined attending selected English and Yiddish plays with classroom analysis. The ILGWU obtained these theatre tickets at discounted prices. This marked the Education Department's adoption of a long-standing East Side custom whereby guilds, clubs, and labor organizations purchased theatre tickets at reduced rates for their members. (Cohen, 1975, p. 134)

The ILGWU's Education Department worked primarily through the union locals, and Cohn traveled extensively up and down the East Coast as well as to such points in the midwest as Chicago and Cincinnati to help the locals organize their own Unity Centers, workers' universities, and other educational programs. Local programs were dependent on local money; the union-wide Education Department had only modest sums at its disposal--$5,000 was appropriated for it at its founding in 1916, with its appropriation growing to $15,000 in 1920 and $17,000 in 1922.

Educational activities by Local 25 in 1919 illustrate how the idea had progressed from 1915. The local had 30,000 members, of which 10,000 were involved in classes and 7,000 in concerts and plays during the year. Unfortunately, the local, known as "the girls' local" (Kessler-Harris, 1985, p. 126) became a focal point in the struggle between men and women and radicals and was split into three locals in 1920.

In December 1920, Cohn convened a meeting in New York City to formulate plans for a national Workers' Education Bureau (WEB), in an attempt to expand workers' education throughout the entire labor movement. The Workers' Education Bureau

> would serve as a clearing house for information and publicity as well as a registration bureau for labor teachers and schools which required their services. The WEB would also formulate educational standards for labor schools and evaluate textbooks and other classroom materials. (Cohen, 1975, p. 141)

A. Epstein, of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, secretary-treasurer of the Bureau said of the organizing efforts:

> We are meeting to organize a permanent bureau. Attempts are being made with more or less success by American workers in different parts of the country to create new educational agencies aiming to satisfy their own particular needs. The Workers' Educational Bureau is planned to coordinate such attempts and to stimulate additional experience in workers' education. (New York Times, 1921, April 3, p. 21:3)

The WEB was supported initially with contributions from Cohn's family and later with contributions from her friend, Evelyn Preston. She labored tirelessly to convince Samuel Gompers that the American Federation of Labor (AFL) should subsidize the Workers' Education Bureau, obtaining a formal, cooperative relationship between the AFL and the WEB in 1922; an acknowledgement that the AFL formed "an integral and organic part of the WEB in 1923; and finally, a recommendation from the AFL in 1924 that its unions affiliate with the WEB on a per capita basis of one-half cent per annum" (Cohen, 1975, p. 143). Cohn served the WEB in a variety of capacities, including that of vice president.

Cohn was also instrumental in founding Brookwood Labor College in 1921, the first residential college for workers in the United States. Both the AFL and the ILGWU had passed convention resolutions urging the creation of a national university for the entire labor movement, modeled on Ruskin College in England.

> Cohn and other labor leaders steadfastly maintained that only the trade unions could be entrusted with closely coordinating workers' education with the labor movement's interest. They argued that middle and upper class control of the institutions of higher education allowed them to preserve their social status. (Cohen, 1975, p. 142)

As a vice president of the General Executive Board for the ILGWU, Cohn battled opposition to the union's educational programs from her fellow vice presidents and others within the union. In describing Cohn's battles on behalf of the Education Department, Cohen (1975) notes "The vice presidents duly agreed on the abstract importance of labor education while they reiterated that students did not appear to be more active or intelligent unionists" (p. 146). Low attendance figures at the union's educational programs were an early reality which Cohn spent a great deal of time trying to remedy. Even as she sought to make the curriculum more relevant to prospective students, she acknowledged that, "the mass of workers simply could not be attracted to the study of serous subjects" (p. 144). She defended workers' education by arguing that even if it "trained only a small minority to lead their fellows to a, '. . . land of industrial democracy . . . it will have fulfilled its highest duty'" (p. 144). Had Cohn not occupied a seat on the General Executive Board, it is not clear that she would have been successful in obtaining the appropriations she did for the Education Department in the face of the opposition at the vice presidential level. Cohn's battles were further complicated by general labor attitudes toward organizing women and the leadership of women in the labor movement. Rather than fight the union leadership from an external position she chose to work within. As a result she was often isolated from the more radical female leaders and ultimately lost power within the union.

Fannia Cohn's life was her work, and increasingly her work was her life. On a holiday in Europe to improve her health in 1922, she took time to stop in Paris to visit the garment trades' offices and discuss workers' education among other labor-related activities. She concluded her trip by meeting the president of the ILGWU in London and addressing several mass meetings of the needle trades' workers (Cohen, 1975). This particular trip, however, was to become a source of embarrassment. According to Kessler-Harris (1985) the June 11, 1923 minutes of the General Education Board meeting note that Cohn made the trip to Europe at the advice of her physician and that the financial loss, which she bore herself,

> made it impossible for her to straighten out her financial situation and that she asked, therefore, to be reimbursed four weeks' pay. It was decided to grant this request and in the future on occasions of that kind, requests are to be made prior to the taking of vacations. (p. 137)

It is also likely that at the time of her trip Cohn increasingly was being besieged by the male leadership who questioned her loyalty to the union.

Cohn returned revitalized and continued to develop new programs for the union. She arranged for the New York garment workers to attend classes at the New School for Social Research at reduced rates. She also enlarged the education program to include lectures during the first hour of all the locals' business meetings, instructing the captive audience in English or Yiddish in subjects which ranged from labor and economics to industrial hygiene. She organized a new program for the wives of members and included a Women's Auxiliary Institute at Brookwood Labor College during the summer to analyze the problems of both working women and the wives of workers. She began work on behalf of Pioneer Youth of America, which sponsored a summer camp staffed by men and women sympathetic to labor, to instruct workers' children in a social philosophy consistent with the trade union movement. At the ILGWU's 1924 convention, she was able to report that 216,903 union members had been involved in education activities between 1922 and 1924 (Cohen, 1975).

Despite the fact that the union's educational programs were relatively healthy, the union's internal battles with Communists and Communist-sympathizers, who threatened the control of its leadership, were costly. By 1924 there was no money for what some viewed as the unnecessary luxury of an Education Department, and Cohn carried on with only one assistant. Cohen (1975) quotes Gus Tyler:

> Fannia Cohn carried the educational department on her own back for many, many years. To the extent the union continued its involvement with educational work it was because Fannia insisted. . . . She was indulged even when the union didn't have any money. Of course, indulging Fannia was very cheap. She wore the same dress for thirty years. She didn't eat. She had no worldly needs whatsoever. My guess is that her relatives kept her alive for those years--not the union. . . . She carried it through the bad years of the twenties--the union was small and, at one point, they turned off the elevator because the union couldn't pay its electric bills. (p. 174)

In 1925, with almost no funding, Cohn continued to build the educational programs of the union:

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> She formulated an extensive new program, based on her vision of the ILGWU as a total community. She decided that education should not be confined to the classroom. Instead, the department should satisfy the members' and their families' intellectual, economic and recreational needs. On Saturday afternoons members (as well as their families and friends), now had the opportunity to attend special lectures and guided tours at the Museum of Natural History. . . . She also introduced the practice of exhibiting paintings by members and their children. . . in order to bring art into the workers' daily lives. Finally, she became an associate of the Monumit School, resident school for workers' children in Pauling, New York. (Cohen, 1975, p. 183)

She revamped the curriculum for the fall 1925 education season, scheduling classes in economics, economic geography, economic history, history of the labor movement, labor problems, social history, social psychology, and literature. In the midst of this activity, the ILGWU held its annual convention in December 1925, and Fannia Cohn was defeated in her bid for re-election as a vice president and member of the union's General Executive Board. While her conflicts with the other vice presidents could not have helped, most observers have blamed her defeat on her exclusive focus on the educational activities of the union and her isolation from the other work of the union. Cohn herself blamed her defeat in part on her refusal to take sides in the battles during the 1920s when Communists sought control of the ILGWU (Wong, 1980). Others identify her defeat with the debate over women's role in labor (Kessler-Harris, 1985; Lorwin, 1933).

A twilight period for the workers' education movement followed until both the ILGWU and its Education Department were revived during the New Deal when ILGWU President David Dubinsky appointed Mark Starr as director. The scope of Cohn's position as executive secretary was then severely restricted. Workers' education gave way to labor education and

> "What is good for the union is good for the members" replaced Cohn's and Poyntz's intricate cataloging of unionists' intellectual and emotional needs. More important, the link between workers' education and progressive social action was broken. Labor education in the ILGWU was designed to serve the union, not the world. . . .

> The new members were to be taught about unionism not so they could be forged into a fighting force for a new and better world, but so they would loyally follow their leaders. (Wong, 1984, p. 55)

After 1935 the ILGWU's Education Department sponsored recreational and cultural events, but its systematic study classes dwindled to a new member course designed to create union loyalty and an officer qualifications course designed to introduce candidates for paid office to union structure.

The treatment of Cohn was viewed by many as a public humiliation. Rose Pesotta, herself an eventual vice president of the union, but, unlike Cohn, a rebel, wrote to David Dubinsky in outrage:

> Fannia Cohn's service to our organization is only recognized by those on the outside who can dispassionately evaluate such unselfish efforts on the part of one person, for the cause of workers' education. But most of the credit is now the heritage of a director who has entered the field after the thorns were weeded out, the marshes dried and all other obstacles removed. She remains a tragic figure amidst her own fellow workers, whom she helped to gain prestige with the outside educational world. Were she a man, it would have been entirely different. (Pesotta, n.d.)

Cohn continued as a relatively powerless executive secretary of the Education Department (by the 1950s her sole responsibility was the book division) until the union forced her hand by staging a retirement luncheon for her in August 1962. She died of a stroke four months later (Wong, 1980).

A parallel development to the rise of workers' education provided directly by the labor unions was education for workers provided by other agencies in society--e.g., the Young Women's Christian Association and colleges and universities. Fannia Cohn was one of those asked by Bryn Mawr College President M. Carey Thomas to meet in 1921 to design a curriculum for the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers. The Bryn Mawr program began that year with Hilda Worthington Smith, the College's dean of undergraduates, serving as director. Cohn pleaded the excuse of other obligations. Cohen (1975), however, believes that Cohn's refusal was in part due to her repeatedly stated belief that trade unions, not the universities, must control workers' education. Yet, the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers shared many of Fannia Cohn's ambitions. Its purpose, according to Heller (1984), was "to offer young women in industry opportunities to study liberal subjects and train themselves in clear thinking" (p. 115). It is significant that Cohn's narrow focus, and her distrust of the middle-class and upper-class women who ran the National Women's Trade Union League (NWTUL) which supported the Bryn Mawr Summer School, did not permit her to work cooperatively in the development of what became a model program of its kind. She continued to believe, "workers' education would succeed only when provided by trade unionists for trade unionists. . . . However, despite Cohn's reservations, the ILGWU's educational department provided scholarships to . . . both the Bryn Mawr and Barnard summer schools" (Wong, 1984, pp. 48-49).

From 1916 until at least 1935, Fannia Mary Cohn almost single-handedly kept alive the education movement in the ILGWU, offering programs which served the individual's development as well as the union's purposes at a time when the United States was attempting to assimilate large numbers of immigrants into its society. While educational programs for adults were being offered by other agencies as well, the unions served as an opportune entry point into American society for immigrant workers.

ANALYSIS

A number of events conspired to influence Fannia Mary Cohn's life in the United States: her experience with the oppression of the State and her fellowship with other Jewish immigrants in one of New York City's urban ethnic ghettoes. She quickly became involved in the women's garment industry that the Russian Jews had made their own (Higham, 1975).

Radicalized by her Russian experience, it was not difficult for Cohn to reject middle-class opportunities offered to her by her relatives. Her initial experiences on Ellis Island interacted with her activist and educational orientation to provide a foundation for her eventual role in the ILGWU.

Her acceptance of the value of workers' education was not unusual nor singularly significant. Reformers of the period directly contended with the philosophy of William Graham Sumner and Herbert Spencer, based on social evolution that favored survival of the fittest. Even though Spencerian ideas frequently were used to justify corporate excesses, reformers found an equally persuasive spokesman in Lester Ward. Commager (1970) quotes Franklin Giddings--a Spencerian--who described Ward's work as follows:

> . . . there runs one dominating and organizing thought. Human society as we who live now know it, is not the passive product of unconscious forces. It lies within the domain of cosmic law, but so does the mind of man; and this mind of man has knowingly, artfully, adapted and readapted its social environment, and with reflective intelligence has begun to shape it [society] into an instrument wherewith to fulfill man's will. (p. 210)

Fannia Mary was already convinced of the value of education which she preferred over charitable activities. Yet, she reflected the radical's view of education and resisted efforts that would have integrated workers' education with mainstream educational institutions. She subscribed to the British radical's view of social class and seems to have had little interest in any educational activity that challenged the concept. Perhaps that attitude was instrumental in her apparent rejection of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers and her devotion to Brookwood College.

A description of the Bryn Mawr School appearing in the New York Times (1921, June 5) is hardly consistent with the life style of a woman who had "no worldly needs whatsover." The Times reported:

> Denby Hall, one of the most beautiful of the dormitories on the famous Bryn Mawr campus will be used for the seamstresses, flower makers, and telephone operators who are to take the courses and it is said that those alumnae of the college who serve as tutors to the new girls will live there too during the summer, more for the purpose of seeing to it that the working girls get all the traditional sociability and fun out of their stay than to act as chaperones or teachers, for there will be summer parties and dances on the electric-lighted roof, tennis, basketball, field hockey, cross country walks, evening entertainments, lectures and motion pictures and mid-week and week-end trips. (Sec. VI, p. 5:1)

Considering the plans for a "late breakfast hour" and efforts to relieve the young women workers of household duties, the Bryn Mawr Summer School is in stark contrast to the description of Brookwood College. For example, a statement by the cooperative labor committee that established Brookwood emphasized "no individual would be exclusively assigned to manual work" and, by inference, no one would be excused from manual work at the college. Faculty and students would routinely perform the jobs that call for manual labor from "cooking to wood-cutting and from farming to dishwashing." The statement further noted that the "the importance and dignity of handwork and headwork are both fully recognized" (New York Times, 1921, June 16, p. 8:1).

Fannia Mary Cohn was undoubtedly a headstrong, highly committed leader who was shaped by Russian and American experiences. She was also trapped by the complicated political forces arising from the activities of Communists, traditional labor leaders, and the emerging female labor problems. She found herself forced into a position that required her to choose between the radical activities of Local 25, later Local 22, known as "the girls' union" and the male dominated leadership. Those who rebelled, like Rose Pesotta, found themselves without support and those who conformed, like Cohn, were without power. Efforts to remove Cohn as a vice president seem to have begun as early as 1922 (Kessler-Harris, 1985). Her life sensitized her to the role and importance of education for workers and, as a result, she presided over one of the first, if not the very first, education departments of an international labor union in the United States. She was also convinced of the need for workers' education to be by and for workers. She seems to have distrusted the reformers of the day who did not have a life history that included a worker's experience. Her contributions to workers' education are both noteworthy and controversial.

EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

While Fannia Mary's educational contributions may not have been original, they should be considered significant. She seems to have developed a view of education for workers that was broader than the social worker orientation that was prevalent at the time. While she did not reject the settlements, she was attracted to a liberal education concept that included drama, theatre, and music. She demonstrated an uncanny ability to creatively extend programs and activities originally created by others. For example, the Unity Centers were organized by Juliet Poyntz, as was the ILGWU's Education Committee in 1916. In some ways Poyntz may be described as the "brains" of the garment workers' educational program, but if so, Fannia was its soul. The importance of her contributions reside in the cumulative aspects of her involvement in a variety of activities when workers' education was in a fermenting stage.

Some of her experiences that merit recognition are:

1. Her participation in the Women's Trade Union League's first residential workers' education program is indicative of both her recognized potential and her commitment to education for workers.

2. She was not reluctant to use her elected position in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to promote the education of workers, including women workers who generally had been neglected by union leaders. She not only worked in New York City where her own local was situated, but extended her efforts to other East Coast cities and Midwest centers such as Chicago and Cincinnati.

3. She focused her activism and educational efforts on the Education Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which was only one of three union "educational experiments" in existence before 1918 (New York Times, 1921, April 4, p. 3:5). It is apparent that Fannia Mary was the spiritual leader of this effort.

4. She recognized the value of a liberal education for workers and developed a curriculum accordingly.

5. She committed her personal resources to workers' education when her union resources were nearly nonexistent.

6. Representing one of three educational "experiments" in existence before 1918, she stimulated the creation of the Workers' Education Bureau which held its first conference in New York City in April 1921 (New York Times, 1921, April 3, p. 21:3).

7. She supported Brookwood College as the first residential college for workers in the United States.

8. She is recognized for her public relations or "propaganda" on behalf of workers' education. She not only carried out a voluminous correspondence, but she also authored a number of papers and journal articles.

CONCLUSIONS

In a sense Fannia Mary Cohn was a tragic figure. She was forced by circumstances to leave her native Russia against the wishes of her parents. She arrived in America as it was in the process of profound change. The nation's changing ethnic composition, attitudes concerning women's roles, and political and economic ideas exerted extreme stress upon the country's social fabric.

Upon arrival in the United States she chose to throw her lot in with her fellow Jewish immigrants in the garment industry. Her leadership qualities soon led to her election as the president of Local 41 of the Kimono, Wrappers, and Housedress Workers' Union of New York. The same qualities were revealed time and again during her life as she became the first woman elected to a vice presidency in the ILGWU. Yet, she was a victim of her own constituency as she was isolated from both the male and female power brokers. After serving as a vice president for several years, she was defeated in her bid for re-election in December of 1925. Many factors probably contributed to her defeat, but her single-minded dedication to workers' education as she perceived it should be was possibly an important element. Her defeat in 1925 was followed by a continuing decline in the activism of the Education Department as workers' education gave way to labor education.

Cohn's uncompromising, demanding, self-centered, and domineering personality combined with her romantic and idealistic views of education presented her with many interpersonal and political problems that possibly interfered with her influence in some instances. For example, even though it is likely that she shared many of the aspirations identified for Bryn Mawr's Summer School for Women Workers, she rejected the opportunity to influence the curriculum because of her radical philosophy. And even though she encouraged the activism of Local 25 members, she could not continue her support because of internal union politics. However, the same qualities, commitment, dedication, and assurance of the value of workers' education, which were a source of weakness, were also a fountainhead of strength.

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EDUARD LINDEMAN AND WORKERS' EDUCATION

David W. Stewart

"Already the most vital sector of the adult education movement. . . ."[1] So Eduard Lindeman characterized workers' education in his classic small volume, The Meaning of Adult Education, first issued in 1926. This was an over-optimistic assessment. Worker education might have a "brass-band style of inauguration," as Lindeman's friend Mary Parker Follett termed it,[2] but its tenure as an adult education success story was brief.

It was fashionable for left-wing intellectuals in the 1920s to support the cause of workers' education. This was not necessarily a blessing from the workers' point of view. Labor unions were gratuitously invaded by a host of educators bound and determined to make a revolution--educational or otherwise. Classes were authorized and taught--often by teachers who cared enough to work without pay--but attendance was frequently sparse.[3]

In this environment, not all of the adult education leadership was impressed with what happened in the name of workers' education. Everett Dean Martin, for one, was thoroughly skeptical of the workers' education movement. "Much of it," he said, "is little more than a recrudescence of antiquated radical propaganda, designed to enable the proletariat to 'emancipate itself from the slavery of capitalism,' and to get it 'ready for a millennial industrial democracy.' The initiative often comes not from studious minded workers, but from enthusiastic intellectuals and idealistic uplifters. The cultural gesture is often pathetic or comic. It is not uncommon for those who have completed the courses of study in a 'workers' college to find themselves more unadjusted than they were before."[4]

There were further difficulties. Sharp divisions within the labor movement about issues of importance made educational programming a delicate matter. Also, impartial consideration of labor-related subjects seems to have been the exception, rather than the rule, in courses of study sponsored by educational institutions.[5]

Lindeman was aware of the "highly developed habits of conflict and almost none of cooperation," especially among the old guard unionists

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(significantly called "war-horses"). He was anxious to promote workers' education as a means of encouraging "reason" rather than "coercion," the "rational head," rather than the "hard hand."[6]

These were noble aspirations, but Lindeman was no more successful than others of his breed in realizing them. Even by the late 1920s, much of the steam was out of the worker education fad. John Hader, with whom Lindeman worked in research and writing on worker education and related issues, was less than impressed by much of what he learned about workers' education as actually practiced in 1929. The Workers Education Bureau itself--supposedly the epicenter of the movement--had "no spark, no zip," reported Hader, though it was located "right out the back door" of the bustling New School for Social Research.[7]

If the workers' education movement as an adult education enterprise was a flash in the pan, the intellectual precipitate of work done in its name has enjoyed a better fate. In articulating adult learning as the essence of workers' education, Lindeman made important and lasting contributions to the generic conceptual development of American adult education.

Lindeman proceeded systematically as he acquired the information that would fuel his interest in workers' education. He was an avid learner on events of interest to the American worker education movement on his trips abroad. The churning European labor movements in particular captured his attention.

In 1925 he attended the Trades Union Congress in London. The gathering was being held in the midst of a severe industrial recession in Britain. The desperation of many of that nation's unemployed was not matched, in Lindeman's view, by any excess of imagination or zeal on the part of their leaders in the Labour Party. It seemed to Lindeman that the Labour Party was growing more conservative--a stance that was driving "minority radicals" to the left.[8]

The Congress itself was disappointing. If the older delegates exerted little leadership, the younger ones were "the victims of phrases." Resolutions were introduced and set off endless and futile debates. And there was a tiresome general principle: "If they wanted a program for organizing shop committees they were obliged to include in the resolution a sentence affirming that by this means the capitalist system could best be overthrown."[9]

Lindeman wasn't much more impressed with the 58th Trades Union Congress held in Bournemouth, England the next year. Encouraged by an editorial in The New Statesman that suggested workers' education would be the most significant item on the agenda, Lindeman went with high hopes. Everything, it seemed, was in place for the right kind of action.

The previous Congress, insipid as it was, had at least taken a few steps in the direction of consolidating the various workers' education movements.[10] More importantly, the Countess of Warwick, an advocate for labor and adult education, had donated Easton Lodge, her estate, to be equipped as a university for labor and as a centralizing agency for relevant educational projects. Ruskin College, the London Labour College, the Workers' Educational Association, and the various programs of the National Council of Labour Colleges were to be involved.[11]

Unfortunately, the Bournemouth Congress was not "educationally disposed." The minds of the delegates were focused almost exclusively on something else--the massive General Strike of the previous May. A resolution asking for a levy of one penny per affiliated member for a period of three years in order to create an Easton Lodge fund was soundly defeated. The miners opposed it on grounds that they could not very well ask members to contribute to education while their families were on the verge of starvation. Jack Jones of the General and Municipal Workers' Union had a more theoretical reason for his opposition. According to Lindeman, Jones proclaimed the time had come for workers to turn their backs on "these youngsters who go to Ruskin College for a few months to wear worker's clothes and then blossom forth with halos and plus-fours demanding good jobs in the labor movement."[12]

As an educator, Lindeman found the debate on this matter "deplorable." The real issue, i.e., "the essential conflict between resident-teaching and classes conducted in the local community," was hardly mentioned. Neither was the larger question of education and its place in the modern labor movement. What had happened? According to Lindeman, the vote on the resolution had not been a vote on education at all. It was instead an opportunity for the delegates to embarrass their General Council whom they blamed for their recent failure with the General Strike.[13]

Somewhat more promising were concurrent events on the European continent--in Germany. Lindeman was influenced to a substantial degree in his thinking about adult education by the worker education development that was taking place after World War I at the Frankfurt Academy of Labor. With the demise of the old monarchy and the birth of what would be an extremely fragile new republic, Germans were struggling to find ways in which workers could involve themselves in the task of rebuilding the nation.

One of the characteristics that drew Lindeman to the Frankfurt Academy of Labor was its commitment to education as a tool for national regeneration. The old world was not to be annihilated; it was to be reorganized. In short, labor's intelligence was assumed to be more effective than its capacity to use force.[14] This was encouraging to the thoroughly non-Marxist Lindeman.

The Academy of Labor, though it was affiliated with the University of Frankfurt-am-Main, was by no means in the business of knowledge and scientific education for its own sake. Rather the central question from which its curriculum started was: "How can our needs be met? How can we meet our situation?" Universities and high schools might "*give* knowledge," but the Academy "must learn how to arrange, review, criticize, coordinate knowledge, not for purposes of a logical system but to the end that it is incorporated as a living, healing power. The task is not to balance theory and practise but rather to transform theory."[15]

An understanding of the program of the Academy of Labor and Lindeman's interpretation of it need to take into account the context of the times in which there was within the European labor movements a strong strain of dissatisfaction with the capitalist system. Lindeman noted that the average worker came to the Academy "believing thoroughly that the present economic order is about to decay and deserves nothing but condemnation."[16]

The "anonymous and impersonal character" of the capitalist view of economic life was cited by Lindeman as a further environmental element affecting the philosophy of the Academy of Labor. The human being "no longer stands at the center of the economic order. In his place is an anonymous sack of capital with objective profit-motives . . ." Amidst these forces, the individual lost significance. "In discussing economic events even . . . newspapers prefer to use the same categories with which they speak of the weather." In this environment, the aim of workers' education was "to bring into existence an economic order in which man will again become in a more perfect manner the sovereign of his fate."[17]

Eduard Lindeman's most impressive work in workers' education is represented by the monograph entitled Education Through Experience that he coauthored with Martha Anderson in 1927. Published by The Workers' Education Bureau Press, Inc., this piece was essentially a description and interpretation of the methods used by the Academy of Labor at Frankfurt-am-Main in Germany. Miss Anderson's role was primarily that of Lindeman's research assistant and translator. It was characteristic of him that he allowed her coauthorship with her name listed first on what would become an important document in the history of adult education.

The authors examined the content, method, and philosophy of workers' education as enunciated in the writings of Eugen Rosenstock, Ernst Michel, and Wilhelm Sturmfels, among others. The analysis required close collaboration between translator Anderson and Lindeman for as they said in the "Preface," their intent was to convey "what Germans have said expressed in the way Americans think."

Adult education was not for everyone--certainly not for the person who "merely knows something." Knowledge derived from experience, on the other hand, was the essence of adult education. The worker would seek education "because he has reason for personal complaint." It was the "field of action" that distinguished the educational situation of the adult from that of the child. To the learning situation, the adult brought "guilt, entanglement, want and pain," wrapped in experiences of a sort still foreign to a child. A child's education flowed with nature, whereas adult's was in conflict with nature as he or she strove for self-mastery. "Adult education grows on the graves of those budding dreams which have not ripened."[18]

As a Deweyan pragmatist, Lindeman was no more inclined to offer a definition of workers' education than he was of adult education. To him, such definitions if offered at an early stage tended to obstruct, rather than advance, philosophical inquiry.[19] So, in Education through Experience, one has to settle for more nebulous statements.

What was Lindeman's concept of workers' education? "Labor will come into its own when workers discover better motives for production and finer meanings for life," Lindeman said in The Meaning of Adult Education.[20] Workers' education was to be distinctive, however, something "more than the transference of liberal-bourgeois ideals to the working class."[21]

What was the beginning of workers' education? It must be "at the lowest boundary, the crossing of which signifies the first intellectual independence of man." Wisdom was the "final fruit of man's detachment from the yoke of matter." But workers' education could not presume to offer wisdom. It must rather "begin by exploring the knowledge of rights--the right which awakens in him the feeling of responsibility."[22]

In The Meaning of Adult Education, Lindeman briefly describes how a mature adult might study economics as part of an adult education curriculum. This was an example drawn directly from his study of the methods used at the Academy of Labor and in Education through Experience, he provides a more detailed explanation.

The starting point would be the "immediate facts of the worker's life, his position in industry, his role as a wage-earner." Then, the study of both the economics of production and of distribution would be undertaken so that economics could be approached as reality, not theory.[23]

With the student presumably discovering economics as a characteristic field of action for himself, he was in a position to study economic questions. This would be done by reading from standard texts.[24] "Systematic instruction through co-ordination of discovered facts" would then be undertaken. "Factual lectures" would follow only after problems had been "recognized through the mutual work of the groups."[25]

This was essentially a three-step view of the development of curriculum and instruction: (a) questions arise from the students' situation, (b) supportive reading begins, and (c) systematic instruction coordinates discovered facts.[26] This scheme for facilitating adult learning undergirds Lindeman's work in The Meaning of Adult Education.

Lindeman's concept of the nonauthoritarian role of the teacher in adult education also came in part from his study of the Academy of Labor. Here, the "usual assembly of instructors" was being replaced by "a true community of teachers, coming into being through discussions, conferences and understanding. . . ." Lindeman noted furthermore that teachers coming to the Academy from high schools and universities found it "advisable to burn their college books and abjure their earlier teaching habits." Teachers of adults had to demonstrate that they were "collaborators."[27]

Teachers at the Academy were conscious that they could not "transmit education but . . . only awaken the possibility for learning in students. . . . *Somewhere knowledge as mere information changes into knowledge as self-formed wisdom and the Academy wants to discover this process* [emphasis in original]."[28]

The Academy was neither a vocational school nor a university--though it was noted that both institutions were needed. Instead, the function of the Academy was to "educate the whole man as worker."[29]

Parenthetically, it might be noted that the Academy, supposedly a pioneering adult education institution, had a rather arbitrary definition of adulthood as it accepted applicants for its programs. Students under 25 or over 32 were "not welcome."[30]

One of the more intriguing footnotes to adult education history is represented by Lindeman's introduction to the United States of a term that would much later become used--some might say overused--by adult educators. It was as he did research for his work with the Workers' Education Bureau that Lindeman came upon "*Andragogik*" as a reference to the method for teaching adults. In a quirky one-paragraph article published in the journal Workers' Education in 1926 Lindeman somewhat offhandedly Anglicized the word and offered it to North Americans.[31]

Lindeman with coauthor, Martha Anderson, used the term again in Education through Experience. They called andragogy "the true method of adult learning" . . . in which "theory becomes fact . . . words become responsible acts, accountable deeds, and the practical fact which arises out of necessity is illuminated by theory."[32]

No one seems to have picked up on this new terminology and "andragogy" went into limbo until Malcolm Knowles resurrected it in 1968. Martha Anderson worked closely with Lindeman for five years but she seems to have been less than attentive when Lindeman inserted the term in the article they coauthored in 1927. When interviewed about her work with Lindeman in 1984, just weeks before her death, she had this to say when asked about their use of andragogy: "I don't even know what it means."[33]

In summary, Lindeman said, the curriculum and the teaching method of the Academy aimed to "(a) induce self-reflection, (b) give science a social setting, and (c) evoke responsible decisions." The student recognized that his intellectual attainments were socially significant "only when they emerge from the field of his necessary life. Life, and especially intellectual life, means responsibility. Responsible activity presupposes a responsible orientation and understanding of the situation which makes action necessary."[34]

It was logical that Lindeman should find an outlet for his research and development energies at the Workers' Education Bureau in New York. The Bureau was established in 1921 as an effort to coordinate the work of trade-union colleges.[35] It basically functioned as a clearinghouse for information and as a source of guidance for labor classes. It also published texts and syllabi for their use.[36]

Eduard Lindeman began as Research Director at the Workers' Education Bureau on October 1, 1926, just after his return from Europe. He had served as a member of the editorial board of the organization's Workers' Bookshelf for five years and had served as instructor for a number of workers' study classes. In the winter of 1925-1926 he had conducted a class on "Technique of Workers' Education" at the New School of Social Research--a class he repeated the next year. The Advisory Committee for Lindeman's research department included Harry Overstreet, Alfred Dwight Sheffield, Hilda Smith, George Soule, Florence Thorne, and John Troxell.[37] A number of these people were, or would become, Lindeman's close friends.

The sailing was not all smooth for Lindeman at the Bureau, however. Hard-charging, imaginative--and often with erratic work habits--Lindeman may have run afoul of more conservative elements in the organization. An ambitious proposal for improved teacher training was printed in Workers' Education in November 1923, but in the same issue, an anonymous writer (undoubtedly the editor of the journal) threw cold water on the project. He called for "a more modest experiment . . . near the national headquarters in New York City" than the "more comprehensive program" set forth by Lindeman.

The writer went on to warn "those in charge of workers' educational activities" that not too many workers would "respond suddenly to actual systematic study." No other adult groups in society cared much about study "and the adult worker is no exception to this rule. If those in charge of our educational activities will take cognizance of this fact, it will save them unnecessary disappointment."[38]

A major project for the Bureau was undertaken by Lindeman (with John Hader) when they examined the content of workers' education in the United States and Britain in the 1920-1927 period. Also included were some comparative notes about workers' education in Germany. Lindeman and Hader issued their booklet under the title What Do Workers Study? in 1929 but found it necessary to apologize for the incompleteness of their work. They were among the first to find that very low on the typical labor leader's agenda is a response to inquiries from researchers.

Lindeman was every inch the pluralist so it is not all that difficult to predict that he thought workers' education ought to be very diverse in its organizational structure. Specifically, he had four types of workers' education in mind:

- Educational enterprises conducted under the auspices of organized labor, financed by trade unions funds and used to carry out the programs of those who control and support labor movement.
- Educational enterprises possessing a higher standard of excellence and a broader freedom organized within the labor movement but exercising equal control in its councils with other organized

branches. This type would, presumably, consist almost solely of labor colleges.

- Educational enterprises which do not in any sense presume to represent existing labor principle and policy but which maintain an independent status for the main purpose of criticism, challenge, and experimentation.
- Educational enterprises which include representatives from organized labor, from organized agriculture, and from intellectual groups promoting a type of education designed to create and experiment with those values and principles which need to be realized if the workers are to influence and guide those economic processes which have their setting in government and the law; in other words, education for future political action.[39]

With these categories, Lindeman was running counter to more doctrinaire proposals of what workers' education should be. Specifically, he was reacting against what he observed as a tendency to "classify workers' education according to 'good' and 'bad' categories" based on "preconceptions and biases."[40]

Propagandistic workers' education of the "right" or "left" in objectives was cited as one of the most obvious of these. Some, for example, did not consider any educational effort to be part of workers' education unless it expressly affirmed a "revolutionary purpose." Others discounted all workers' education except that conducted under the auspices of organized labor--a stance thought lamentable by Lindeman and Hader.[41]

In contrast, Lindeman urged toleration of all of multiple educational enterprises and their relationships. In return, he said, the labor movement might actually move "resolutely and intelligently toward a changing social order in which enlightened workers and learners could find new meanings and new motivations for their values." If there were problems in such a diverse set of approaches, no matter. They would "gradually be absorbed by our enthusiasms."[42]

Lindeman had little patience with long discussions about the organization and control of workers' education. He thought the focus should instead be on education itself. "Education, once its light begins to shine, illuminates all of life's values; those who would reduce its ministrations to a single interest or value will in the end succeed only in reducing education to stereotyped training or propaganda."[43]

What was Eduard Lindeman's chief contribution to the workers' education movement? In brief, it was a proposed philosophical base rooted in the pragmatism of John Dewey and in the tradition of Nikolai Grundtvig. (Lindeman's views of adult education were also influenced by his understanding of Ralph Waldo Emerson, but this aspect of his thought occurred largely after the peak of his interest in workers' education.) Lindeman also tried to help the workers' education movement find its situational and operational bearings. In neither of these endeavors was he notably successful. Workers' education of the variety tried in the 1920s did not root well in the United States.

Perhaps a better question would be: What did the workers' education movement contribute to Eduard Lindeman's thinking? With his study of the European roots of workers' education, Lindeman was able to test and refine his philosophical views about adult education. This was an exercise that bore fruits to benefit all adult learners in America.

To his work in workers' education, Lindeman applied his axiom that adult education must start with the situation of the learner. "The intelligent worker does not study merely to adjust himself to industry; he proposes also to call forth from industry some adjustments on behalf of his enlarging and evolving needs, desires, and aspirations."[44]

This was not a view looked upon with much understanding or sympathy by employers in the 1920s--or unhappily by very many leaders of industry or government today. With its emphasis on development of what is called "human capital," and its preoccupation with training for "improved productivity," much of what passes for workers' education in present day industrial America runs directly counter to Eduard Lindeman's vision.

NOTES

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40. Lindeman (with John Hader), What Do Workers Study? Monograph No. 2, Workers' Education Research Series (New York: Workers' Education Bureau Press, Inc., 1929), 39-40.

41. Ibid.

42. Lindeman, *Relation of Workers' Education*, 71.

43. Ibid.

44. Lindeman, "Why the American Labors," (n.d.) as cited in Stewart, *Adult Learning*, 193.

WORKERS' EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATION

Jonathan D. Bloom

In December 1925 A. J. Muste, chairman of the faculty at Brookwood Labor College, received a letter from his friend Norman Thomas asking his opinion of "these conferences on adult education being promoted by the Carnegie Corporation." In his reply, Muste reported that he and Arthur Calhoun, Brookwood's Director of Studies, had just returned from one such meeting in New York City. "We here at Brookwood are very doubtful indeed whether we are going to go along with the American Association for Adult Education, which it is expected will spring out of these conferences." Those present at the gathering, Muste went on, "pretty definitely represent a point of view, whether consciously or unconsciously. That point of view is not the same as ours."[1] A little more than a year later, Calhoun put it more sharply at Brookwood's annual conference of teachers in workers' education: "There can be nothing but war between the Adult Education movement, with its 'civic' aims, and the Workers' Education movement, with its class mission."[2]

By that time, a rather major skirmish, if not a war, had broken out within the Workers' Education Bureau (WEB) over a $25,000 grant negotiated by its secretary, Spencer Miller, Jr., from the Carnegie Corporation. There was opposition to the grant on the WEB Board, and at the 1927 WEB convention, delegates from the Boston Trade Union College proposed a resolution to "disapprove the acceptance by agencies for Workers' Education money or other assistance from such institutions as the Carnegie Corporation, the General Education Board, or other organizations fundamentally opposed to the working class." Although after a lengthy debate the resolution was defeated by a vote of 40 to 20, it indicated the depth of many worker educators' wariness toward the new movement.[3]

What accounted for this wariness and hostility by worker educators toward adult education? And what was the "point of view" Muste alluded to--the "class mission" Calhoun claimed for Brookwood and workers' education? How did they perceive it as different and contradictory to that of adult education? Finally, if worker educators were ready to turn down support from sources such as the Carnegie Corporation, where did they expect to obtain support? What was the institutional base of Brookwood Labor College and the workers' education movement?

Worker educators mistrusted adult education because of its close association with the Carnegie name. "There are certain names that become symbolic," Muste wrote to Thomas, "and we are inclined to think that the psychological effect of linking up the workers' education movement with the Carnegie Corporation is going to be pretty bad."[4] He voiced similar thoughts in the WEB convention debate, asserting that "a good many workers . . . associate these foundations with the open shop company union interests in this country. I think the effect of making our educational institutions, our workers' educational institutions, dependent to any considerable extent upon financing from these organizations, is bound to have a bad effect upon thousands of workers and their confidence in the Workers' Education movement."[5] Even the remarks of defenders of the Carnegie grant revealed a deep sensitivity to the name of their proposed benefactor. As one said, "I will take [their] money to advance this movement, because I am only considering that we are getting a little back of that which was taken from us and our ancestors." Another argued that Samuel Gompers had, in his memoirs, exonerated Andrew Carnegie from responsibility in the Homestead strike.[6]

The particular moment of the adult education movement's emergence also accounts for worker educators' anxious reactions. The new movement's overtures came at a time when workers' education seemed vulnerable to takeover. A half decade of defeats for labor, and conservatism in the nation, had taken its toll on the workers' education movement. While Brookwood, Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, and other residential programs were well-established by the mid-1920s, dozens of local labor colleges had been forced to retrench or close. The flourishing movement of the post-World War years was foundering and short of funds. Defenders of the WEB Carnegie grant argued that the Bureau should accept money from any source so long as it came without conditions. But Muste privately wrote: "I am personally concerned . . . that the workers' education movement, and particularly the Workers' Education Bureau, [could] become merely another adult education venture which could be just as effectively carried on by the universities."[7]

What was Muste trying to preserve? In the early 1920s, the movement's dawn, he and a number of others addressed the question "why workers' education?" in numerous articles and conference papers. One such statement was a thirty-page pamphlet titled "How to Start Workers' Study Classes: A Primer to Promote Workers' Education," by Broadus Mitchell, a professor of economics at Johns Hopkins University and instructor at Baltimore Labor College and the Bryn Mawr Summer School. The purposes of workers' education, Mitchell wrote, were "to make workers understand the labor movement and stand by it . . . to fill workers with faith in the cause of labor and devotion to it . . . to surround them with an atmosphere and influence which will create loyalty to the labor movement and to the working class."

Workers' education instructors needed to be, in Mitchell's words, "thoroughly acquainted with the labor movement, not merely from a theoretical but also from a practical point of view . . ." and needed also to have "a deep intellectual and emotional faith in the rightness of the labor movement." The object of study in workers' education, he continued, was "to orient the worker, to place him in possession of the principal facts of his environment, to help him interpret the world in which he lives and to make him articulate . . ."[8] Workers' education, in short, was purposeful. It was, in the words of another movement publicist, Arthur Gleason, "a means to the liberation of the working class, individually and collectively."[9]

When Muste looked at adult education he saw a vaguely defined movement "imparting instruction" rather than equipping students to learn for themselves. Its scope appeared to him to include "every organized effort to impart instruction to, or secure the moral development of, persons too old to be classified as infants, children, or adolescents," including every form from "the movies to radio concerts and lectures, Americanization activities, the teaching of English to foreigners, the extension divisions of colleges and universities, open forums, correspondence schools, the educational activities of YMCAs etc. etc. are all lumped together and called Adult Education." While these forms were answering a popular thirst for knowledge, edification, and entertainment, "voices of authority" were delivering the material, in Muste's view.[10] This was fundamentally different from workers' education, in which the teacher was, as Arthur Gleason had written, "a comrade" of the students, learning as much from them as they did from him or her.[11]

Workers' education also had developed, by the mid-1920s, a particular kind of institutional base. Brookwood had wanted all its financing to come from labor, and set out from the moment of its founding in 1921 to secure endorsements and scholarships from local, state, and national unions. It vested policy-making authority in a Board of Directors whose majority were "Labor Directors," all officials of AFL unions. (Faculty, student, and alumni representatives comprised the rest of the Board.) Unions providing scholarships were eligible for representation on the Board.

However, the 1920s were "lean years" for most unions, and union and tuition funds were not sufficient. The school soon turned to two other sources for support: sympathetic individuals, including one who also gave considerable assistance to adult education, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst, and a maverick foundation, the American Fund for Public Service or "Garland Fund." These three sources--union funds, private contributions, and the Garland Fund--were the financial base not only of Brookwood and other labor colleges but also of a number of kindred institutions of the period, such as the Pioneer Youth, an organization of summer camps for workers' children; the Federated Press, a labor news service; and the Workers' Health Bureau, a pro-union occupational health group.[12] These and other organizations shared beliefs and board members, and all were "independent" in a specific sense. They were controlled only by their staffs and their supporters. They were neither affiliated with, nor dominated by, radical political parties, the national AFL, universities, or government, though they did not necessarily disdain cooperation with any of these.

In Brookwood's case, for example, faculty members were willing, during the 1920s, to teach occasionally at the Socialist Party's school in New York, the Rand School, or at the Communist Party's Workers' School. Brookwood also did not turn away students who were members of these and other parties. But the school was determined to stay out of the orbit of any political party, even the postwar Farmer-Labor Party in which most of its founders had been active. With respect to the AFL, Brookwood sought to win the confidence and support of all unionists, including those on the AFL Executive Council, but it did not offer direct representation on its Board to the AFL national leadership.

During the 1920s, the "independents" generally survived and grew, with the exception of the local labor colleges mentioned earlier. In the 1930s, however, their relatively narrow base was shaken by the Depression. All three of their sources cut their funding considerably, and forced them to consider other paths.

Hilda W. Smith of the Bryn Mawr Summer School turned to government sources for possible assistance for the Summer School and Vineyard Shore, the year-round labor college she had established in the late 1920s. She whimsically recounts in her memoirs how her trip to Washington, D.C. in the late summer of 1933 resulted instead in an offer to launch a workers' education program under the Federal Emergency Relief Adminstration (FERA).[13] There she began a new phase of the workers' education movement under the aegis of the New Deal which lasted nearly a decade and which Joyce Kornbluh has described in her book, A New Deal for Workers' Education.[14]

At Brookwood, however, the idea of turning to the state for support never took root. Although a number of graduates and several faculty members individually participated in the FERA and WPA workers' education programs, most Brookwooders viewed the New Deal programs, to quote one faculty member, as "isolated from the labor movement ideologically and financially."[15] Brookwood struggled through the Depression years until its collapse in 1936-1937, at the very moment of the CIO's historic breakthroughs in the automobile and other industries. The school closed in 1937, suffering the same fate as other independent workers' education projects begun so hopefully in the early 1920s.

By World War II, workers' education gave way to labor education, a quite different--perhaps fundamentally different--movement.

NOTES

1. Norman Thomas to A. J. Muste, 17 December 1925, Muste to Thomas, 21 December 1925. Brookwood Labor College Papers, box 27, folder 18, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit (WSUD).

2. Arthur Calhoun, "The Meaning of Workers' Education," in Adult Education Vs. Workers' Education: Fourth Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education, 18-20 February 1927 (Katonah, N.Y.: Brookwood, 1927), 52.

3. Workers' Education in the United States: Proceedings of the Fifth National Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau (Boston: 22-24 April 1927), 87ff.

4. Muste to Thomas, 21 December 1925. Brookwood Papers, box 27, folder 18, WSUD.

5. Workers' Education in the United States, 94.

6. Workers' Education in the United States, 91, 88.

7. Muste to Elizabeth Gilman, 30 November 1925. Brookwood Papers, box 27, folder 17, WSUD.

8. Broadus Mitchell, How to Start Workers' Study Classes: A Primer to Promote Workers' Education, Workers' Education Pamphlet Series, no. 1 (New York: Workers' Education Bureau, 1923).

9. Arthur Gleason, Workers' Education: American Experiments (With a few Foreign Examples) (New York: Bureau of Industrial Research, rev. ed., 25 June 1921), 6.

10. Muste, "Building a World View," The Survey, 15 February 1926, 544.

11. Gleason, Workers' Education, 5.

12. Angela Nugent, "Organizing Trade Unions to Combat Disease: The Workers' Health Bureau, 1921-1928," Labor History (Summer 1985): 423-446.

13. Opening Vistas in Workers' Education: An Autobiography of Hilda Worthington Smith (Washington, D.C.: privately printed, 1978), 231.

14. Joyce Kornbluh, A New Deal for Workers' Education (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

15. John Martindale to Leon Cousens, 13 July 1935. Brookwood Papers, box 80, folder 20, WSUD.

THE WOMEN OF SUMMER: THE BRYN MAWR SUMMER SCHOOL FOR WOMEN WORKERS, 1921-1938

Rita R. Heller

ORIGINS AND FOUNDERS

The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers was a complex, often contradictory, educational institution which defies easy summaries. It was simultaneously elitist and egalitarian, conservative and radical, exclusive but also heterogeneous and inclusive. What is clear 68 years after its founding is that it was a significant force for social change in the otherwise quiescent years of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. It prepared many of its approximately 1,700 blue collar students, 90 faculty, and approximately 100 teaching assistants and tutors for leadership in the activist New Deal.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers (BMSSWW) emerged in June 1921, at the behest of college president, M. Carey Thomas. The School represented the merging of a mature women's social justice movement with a fledgling workers' education movement. It built on the accomplishments of the National Consumers League (NCL) and National Women's Trade Union League (NWTUL). Like these predecessors, the Bryn Mawr Summer School was a mixed-class undertaking engaged in evolutionary reform. The School also modeled itself after two formal educational ventures. One was the NWTUL sponsored Training School for Active Workers in the labor movement and the other was the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). Both of these predated the BMSSWW by a few years. Another important ally was the YWCA. Over time the YWCA would emerge as the single largest recruiter of students for the Bryn Mawr Summer School.

The BMSSWW shared more than the ideology of the early 20th century social justice movement. It looked to it for advisors and directors. The Summer School's board of directors, formally named the Joint Administrative Committee, bore the names of notable NWTUL leaders, Margaret Drier Robbins, Agnes Nestor, Rose Schneiderman, Elizabeth Christman, Julia O'Connor, Mable Leslie, Frieda Miller, and Pauline Newman. Mary Anderson came to the School as Director of the then new Women's Bureau. Ernestine Friedmann, Eleanor Coit, and Alice Hanson

Cook were all YWCA Industrial Secretaries who served the School. The new institution also turned to a resource closer to home--the talent bank of Bryn Mawr alumnae who had become distinguished public servants. Among them were Emily Bailey Speer, National President of the YWCA; Pauline Goldmark, social investigator; and Edna Fischel Gellhorn, St. Louis League of Women Voters leader.

The appearance of a workers' school at an elite college, resulted from the efforts of two women, M. Carey Thomas and Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith. One woman provided the vision, the other the stewardship. How was it that elitist educator M. Carey Thomas precipitously embraced the cause of downtrodden working women? In common with other innovative geniuses, Thomas defies categorization. By 1921, the 64-year-old Thomas had evolved into an impassioned activist, having increasingly promoted the experimental and practical. Bryn Mawr's Graduate Social Work School, opened in 1916, was the most dramatic pre-Summer School example of her shift from ivory tower to worldly concerns.

The Summer School program established at Bryn Mawr quickly became the model women workers' educational venture. It operated for 17 summers (from 1921 through 1938 with the single "omission" of the summer of 1935), was residential, served both organized and unorganized workers, and a national, and even small international, constituency. More factory women went through its campus (approximately 1700 overall) than any of the other programs. Personnel trained there dispersed to help found similar, later programs at the Wisconsin Summer School, Barnard Summer School, Vineyard Shore School, Southern Summer School, and Hudson Shore Labor School, and elsewhere. Many students also attended more than one program.

The woman Thomas tapped to transform her summer school dream into reality was the then Dean of Undergraduates, "Jane" Smith. Smith was yearning to break out of the confines of educating daughters of the middle classes and was electrified by the surprising assignment for which she was well-qualified. While in the Dean's office, she sponsored classes for campus employees displaying an ability to transcend class barriers. She and Susan Kingsbury, Dean of the Graduate School of Social Work, had operated a community center in the town of Bryn Mawr. It was Smith, therefore, who played a critical role. It was she who took Thomas' nobly conceived, but shallowly rooted, idea for a workers' school and made it viable.

While the emerging experiment had social feminist, union-based, and other precedents (the British Workers' Education Association, for example), Bryn Mawr would make it distinctive. The College would imbue it with commitment to the liberal arts, standards of selectivity, and academic excellence. The College would also instill a mission-oriented approach. The School arose, as did all of worker education, from a fervent belief in education as a tool for social betterment. It grew also from Jeffersonian notions on the necessity for an educated electorate. But M. Carey Thomas gave the project her particular feminist cast. It was Thomas who audaciously argued the case to educate female laundry workers, seamstresses, and hosiery loopers all of whom were now eligible to vote. Thomas also hoped that other Seven Sister colleges would follow suit in opening summer schools and, thereby, educate America's blue collar women. That part of the dream never materialized. Only Barnard followed Bryn Mawr's model. For five summers it operated a workers' program for commuting ILGWU women from the downtown New York City garment center (pp. 2-19)*.

THEORIES AND GOALS

Thomas and Smith conceived of the experiment in collegiate terms. Over time, the School came to embrace collectivist goals also but this was far from its original intent. The founders knew their student constituency would be new and different and the course would be only an eight-week summer session. But, insofar as possible, the School's approach would be liberal/humanist, and its goals timeless and open-ended. In keeping with the liberal collegiate tradition, the School's priority concern would be the individual. It would focus on the enhancement of reasoning and broadening of minds.

The reality of working with the labor movement did cause the School to widen its focus. Unionists were not about to embrace warmly an elite college's notion of education for education's sake. A first challenge, therefore, was drafting an all-encompassing Statement of Purpose. This statement would have to reflect faithfully the School's collegiate, liberal humanist, open-ended orientation as well as establish credibility with both organized and unorganized women workers. Such a balancing act was necessary as the School's founders were committed to maintaining parity between the two different constituencies. The 1921 Statement described the

School's object as offering "young women of character and ability a fuller education in order that they may widen their influence in the industrial world . . . and increase the usefulness of their own lives." In addition, the School disavowed connection to any "dogma" or "theory" (p. 19).

These 1921 objectives did not win over labor people who advised and visited the campus. One militant student later wrote about restiveness on the campus that first summer:

> "What is the purpose of the Summer School?" was the burning question on campus. Were the courses designed to give a purely cultural education or did they contribute to usefulness in the labor movement? Should they be designed to give training in leadership in the Labor Movement? (p. 19)

Additionally, unionists worried about entrusting workers to college women who served the School as teaching assistants: "Why would workers study under tutors who obviously knew little of the problems of these workers lives?" In fact, labor's wariness set in immediately upon entering the campus through Rockefeller Arch. School director Smith later remembered that labor leaders warned the students "not to trust Bryn Mawr College . . . . as it was only capitalistic propaganda . . ." (p. 20).

By its third session, that of 1923, the School had revised its Statement of Purpose. In this later rendering the School's purposes included the study of liberal subjects and training in clear thinking as well as stimulation of an "active and continued interest in the problems of our economic order." It posited giving students "a truer insight into the problems of industry" and a greater feeling of "responsibility for their solution" (p. 20).

THE STUDENTS

The School's founders aimed to create a community of industrial women representing a cross-section of occupations, regions, religions, and ethnic groups. The founders perennially sought a balance between unionized and nonunionized students. The School welcomed as applicants women between the ages of 20 and 35 who had had elementary school education and two years of industrial experience. The term "workers" referred to those working with the tools of the trade, but not in a supervisory capacity. Specifically excluded were teachers, clerical workers and saleswomen.

It appears recruiters were selective. Overall, one of every two applicants was admitted. The admissions committee sought women of promise with a reading background and intellectual curiosity. Applicants completed a written application of several pages and underwent at least one interview (p. 21).

RELATIONSHIP TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND INSIDER/OUTSIDER CONTROL

Refinement of the School's written objectives played a role in its improved relations with labor. More crucial to labor's acceptance of the Summer School was the School's acceptance of the labor movement. Hilda Worthington Smith engineered the momentous decision--one which came at the end of the turbulent first summer, 1921. The College agreed to granting the labor movement equal representation on the Summer School's Joint Administrative Committee. Former Summer School faculty members and economist, Caroline Ware, described this system of governance as a "radical" advance. Ware viewed the sharing of control with labor representatives as prophetic, as a bold step taken forty years before the advent of "community control."

Now at the point where the students asked to be part of the governance of the School, M. Carey Thomas's first reaction was:

> "What! we're the educators, they're the students." That's what Jane was up against. . . . Jane had the wit and wisdom to find a way to bring some of the students into a reception that Thomas was having . . . and she turned right around on that radical, radical issue. . . . That was the really revolutionary issue that arose. If you were going to have any elitist notion you would not . . . share the administration with the students. . . . (p. 68)

Smith's decision to support the labor movement was of singular importance. It demonstrated the School's earnest effort to be inclusive. It answered the grave doubts of such women labor leaders as Mary Anderson of the Women's Bureau, Rose Schneiderman of the New York NWTUL, and Agnes Nestor of the Chicago NWTUL. This bold step also increased Smith's effectiveness as she now had the added support of the labor movement. She continued to play the crucial role that she had from the School's inception. As impartial go-between, she balanced competing interest groups against one another: College trustees and the labor movement; leftist students and faculty and conservative, nonunionized students. This feat was more easily accomplished in the quiet twenties than in the charged atmosphere of the thirties. Under pressure the fragile coalition came apart.

ADMISSION OF BLACK STUDENTS, 1926

The 1921 acceptance of labor onto the Joint Administrative Committee was, according to Ware, "radical." The 1926 enrollment of black students was similarly remarkable by any standard. Here were black factory women who were recruited for, and admitted to, residential study on a Main Line College campus during the socially-inert Coolidge era. The surrounding community, the site of the legendary play and film, "The Philadelphia Story," was an enclave of vast wealth and conservatism. In fact, the Summer School predated the College in admitting blacks. When the College matriculated its first black undergraduate in the fall of 1927, the student was "placed" with a black family in the town.

Unfortunately there are few particulars in the written record. One can only speculate on the sequence of events which brought racial equality to the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Also circumstantial was Smith's role in those events. By all accounts the YWCA was the beacon of enlightenment on matters of race, having gone on record favoring integrated facilities and conferences in 1918. The YWCA clearly deserved credit. It was also characteristic of Jane Smith to deflect credit away from herself. She wrote that the prime movers behind a resolution calling for the admission of students "without distinction of race, creed or color" were the YWCA-recruited students. That resolution passed the Council, the self-government campus group composed of students and faculty. The resolution was passed on to the Joint Administrative Committee for a decision.

Beyond that, the record is silent. Smith was an outspoken integrationist whose actions and writings speak for themselves. As the college dean she had operated an educational program for black campus employees. In her poetry she deplored injustice and oppression. One may conclude, therefore, that Smith lent crucial moral force to the School's integration (pp. 70-73).

ROLE OF WOMEN

The primary impulses behind the School's founding had been M. Carey Thomas' "belief in education and belief in women." Feminist solidarity could, she felt, bridge the social and economic classes, which it did until overwhelmed by class hostilities in the thirties. The BMSSWW functioned as a *de facto* consciousness-raiser, a sanctuary removed from the male dominated work place. Over time its faculty was two-thirds women. The School's special female orientation was lost when it evolved in 1939 into a coeducational program at the Hudson Shore Labor School (p. 273).

PEDAGOGY

Perhaps the Summer School's greatest contribution to workers'/adult education was its innovative curriculum and pedagogy. The faculty devoted much energy on how best to teach adult students who had a rich work experience. The School's development was contemporaneous with the full flowering of the progressive education movement. John Dewey's ideas were in the air. The Summer School incorporated his basic tenets into its evolving pedagogy. It practiced "learning from life" with social change as the end goal.

The Summer School's instructional environment reflected Dewey's premise in his landmark 1916 work, *Democracy and Education*, that a teacher's raw materials are his students' attitudes and motives, not his discipline. The teacher must engage the learner in the acquisition of knowledge, use the learner's experience, and link these processes to the social milieu. Yet, notable by its *absence* from the School's archival records, is any acknowledgement of the generative thinker. According to former faculty members, Alice Hanson Cook and Oliver Loud, Summer School board member, Eleanor Coit, was the vital link between Dewey and workers' education. According to Cook, the Summer School deftly integrated theories of progressive, labor, and adult education (pp. 202-203).

From the Summer School's inception, its instructional program centered on a core of economics and English. In 1928, it adopted the Unit Method of Instruction. At the BMSSWW a "Unit" meant a coordinated team-taught curriculum presented to 20 homogeneously grouped students.

Three constants gave stability to the School's instructional program. First, the Summer School had deep commitments to humanistic education stemming from its collegial orientation and affiliations. Second, the BMSSWW drew its faculty virtually exclusively from the academic world and *not* from the labor movement. Third, the BMSSWW infused a sympathy for--if not formal endorsement of--organized labor's aims into most instruction from its very first classes in June, 1921 (p. 206).

The Bryn Mawr Summer School made a notable contribution to the theory and practice of workers'/adult education. It very quickly gained a premiere reputation as a successful practitioner in the experimental field. In addition, the School generated voluminous course outlines which, in effect, provided model workers'/adult education syllabi. The American Labor Education Service (originally called the Affiliated Schools for Women Workers) was an umbrella organization for the Bryn Mawr, Barnard, Wisconsin, and Vineyard Shore Schools. Known as ALES, and in operation until 1961, it was a primary disseminator of relevant literature and a sponsor of annual conferences and programs.

FUNDING, RADICALISM, AND CONTROL

The key variables of funding, radicalism, and insider/outsider control are inextricably related. The BMSSWW was an "unnatural" institution in Mary Beard's opinion. It was a liberal, collegiate program for blue collar workers, founded, funded, and operated by an elite women's college--albeit with the active cooperation of the activist, union/labor left. Gifts from hundreds of individuals, as well as from foundations and unions, annually met the School's $20,000 operating budget. Leading American capitalists, Rockefeller, DuPont, and Pew, were among the School's consistent donors in the $100 to $1,000 categories (pp. 21-22).

Only a heroic figure of Hilda Jane Worthington Smith's stature could keep so "unnatural" a coalition smoothly functioning. Her departure for a New Deal position, after the 1933 session, left a void and exposed the School's fragility. In the politically charged "red decade," ideology came to dominate campus life. Increasingly the College distanced itself from what had now become a controversial offspring. In the words of former student, Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo, the School ended (in August 1938) when "the novelty wore thin and the money ran out." The Summer School was put off the campus for 1935 as a consequence of a controversy involving a strike the previous summer. Finally, in 1938, the College severed its connection completely. The College promoted the School's incorporation into the Hudson Shore Labor School, a new operation situation on the upper New York State property of the family of Hilda Smith. At the time of the School's demise, the

School and College both focused on the advantages of coeducation and year-round operation which the Hudson Shore location now provided (pp. 242-263).

RESULTS AND RETROSPECTIVE CANVASS

In a unique follow-up canvass, which this writer conducted 40 to 60 years after the experience, 3% of the students wrote of the Bryn Mawr Summer School's lifelong impact. In overwhelming numbers (between 83% and 86%), the students said it had had a considerable impact on their lives, self-image, and skill development (p. 275).

The School's liberal, collegial orientation bore fruit in the widely divergent paths which students followed. A few women experienced dramatic upward social mobility while others returned to the factory. No single pattern emerged from the canvass of fifty-four women. Twelve gave up paid employment for full-time homemaking, eight continued in the same industrial work until retirement, seven combined homemaking with community volunteerism, and six left industry for either retail or white-collar work. Fourteen provided no career data. One-fifth of the respondents felt the School had had no impact at all on their work. Five became middle-class professionals. Twelve, for at least some period of time, heeded the School's message to assume greater responsibility for the solution of industrial problems. The ten who became shop chairladies and volunteer organizers are now chiefly remembered by co-workers, daughters, and granddaughters. Carmen Lucia and Elizabeth Nord became vice presidents of the United Hatters Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union and United Textile Workers' Union, respectively (pp. 269-270).

Outside evidence has established the School's national contribution to union leadership training. Six of seventy-five subjects in the 20th Century Trade Union Women Oral History Project had been students at the Bryn Mawr Summer School (p. 271).

For many of the faculty, the School's impact was as powerful as it had been on the students. It was their first opportunity to help the disadvantaged, an experience that proved irresistible and pivotal. The New Deal generated opportunities. The School's director, "Jane" Smith, became part of Harry Hopkins' Federal Emergency Relief Administration and, later, the Works Progress Administration. Those Summer School faculty who joined federal agencies were members of a long-viable Washington network. These included Marguerite Gilmore (U.S. Women's Bureau), Katherine Pollak Ellickson (AFL-CIO), Jean Flexner Lewinson (U.S. Department of Labor), Esther Peterson (U.S. Department of Labor and Women's Bureau), Ida Craven Merriam (Social Security Board), and Caroline Ware (Organization of American States). Others staked out new territory. Colston Warne, for example, founded the Consumer's Union. Peterson became a link to the contemporary women's movement when she was named as first chairperson to the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 (pp. 271-273).

The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers built on a fusion of the best impulses of progressive social and educational reform, as well as of women's higher education, suffragism, and feminism. A belief in the ability of education to reform society had driven much progressive reform. But the enlistment of an elite, academic institution into reform constituted a significant departure from existing models. The resulting utopian School forged new connections between the educated elite and workers. It introduced experienced women reformers to the new militant workers and progressives to nascent New Dealers. Declining suffragism plugged into the dynamism of the rising labor movement, giving the School its energy and its mission. In the politically quiet 1920s, the School thus kept alive a commitment to peaceful social change, grooming many of its participants for the recharged world of FDR and serving as a bridge to the later era (pp. 268-275).

NOTES*

Page numbers in text refer to my dissertation, Rita R. Heller, "The Women of Summer: The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, 1921-1938" (Ph.D. thesis, Rutgers University, 1986), of which this paper is an abstract. Earlier versions appeared as Rita R. Heller, "Blue Collars and Blue Stockings: The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, 1921-1938," in Sisterhood and Solidarity: Workers' Education for Women, 1914-1984, eds. Joyce Kornbluh and Mary Frederickson (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), and Rita R. Heller, "The Bryn Mawr Workers' Summer School, 1921-1938, A Surprising Alliance," History of Higher Education Annual, 1981. A 1985 documentary film, based on the 1986 dissertation, is also entitled "The Women of Summer."

WORKERS' EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Charlotte T. Morgan

African-American workers have contributed to the economic development of the United States since the first group of them were kidnapped in Africa and sold into indentured servitude once they reached Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. As reliance on their services became a feature of American life, the status of Africans gradually was downgraded to that of slave. As such they came to perform whatever labor was needed, whether in field, home or factory. Their skills were in all categories: they were artisans, craftsmen, and ordinary laborers, with the latter being dominant. When slavery ended, the majority of black workers were still living in the South, which had continued to be dependent on their labor.

These newly freed workers did not make an immediate transition to wage labor. Instead, most of them fell into peonage by becoming sharecroppers. Their economic status was further depressed by the appearance of the boll weevil, which destroyed cotton, and by recurrent droughts. In addition, an oppressive racial climate existed. America entered into a period between 1877 and 1901 described by historians, Rayford Logan and Michael Winston (1970), as the "nadir" of race relations in this country. The protection promised the freedmen disappeared with the withdrawal of federal troops, the introduction by white supremacists of Jim Crow legislation throughout the South, the growth of lynching, and the formation of the Ku Klux Klan. For many, escape through migration was the key to a better life. Blacks began an exodus westward and northward. Those who moved west felt pressure from both native Americans and whites. The northern route appeared more promising: Overt legal restrictions were absent, industrial agents actively recruited southern workers, and the African-American press promoted migration. These new workers, however, did not find immediate acceptance by their white colleagues who feared competition for employment and acquiesced to the prevailing views of black inferiority. Subsequently, black workers were confined to the lowest economic positions: Wages were small, conditions intolerable, and opportunities for advancement limited. Ironically, as Newman (1976) remarks: "From being expected to do virtually everything until the mid-1800s, most black people were thwarted from doing anything but the most menial work during much of the next one hundred years" (p. 253).

The conditions described above were the impetus for the merger of three agencies--the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, and the Committee for Improving the Industrial Conditions Among Negroes--and the subsequent formation in New York City in 1911 of the National Urban League (Parris & Brooks, 1971). Although originally committed to the purposes of its three forerunners, the needs of the black families migrating to northern cities during World War I forced the agency to concentrate on "survival services" (Parris & Brooks, 1971, p. 42). Since much of the work of the League during this early period extended to questions of manners and morals, one writer (Weiss, 1974) suggests that the League program attempted to mold migrants into the self-perceived bourgeoise image of the host community which feared depression of its own tenuous status. League efforts in these early years focused on racial "adjustment"--for African-Americans this meant the development of acceptable behavior, dress, and language; cooperation, and the adoption of "a longer view of things;" for whites, it meant the development of a fairer attitude towards blacks and the acknowledgement of their contributions and potential (Parris & Brooks, 1971).

In the twenties the League began to emphasize its social work approach through the support of graduate education for its employees and the securing of employment for its disadvantaged clients. By this time locally based associations, known as affiliates, had been formed in major urban centers with substantial black populations. In fact, the growing pressures of the New York community had led to the organization of a New York affiliate, separate and apart from the National Urban League which continued to be based in Manhattan. All of the affiliates pledged to follow a standardized plan of work set forward by the national body. The policy pursued was gradualist: It emphasized an interracial approach and stressed the League's commitment to bring the "best elements" of the races together (National Urban League, 1935).

League efforts to upgrade the African-American economic position were enhanced by the establishment of an Industrial Relations Department in 1925, funded by John D. Rockefeller for a three-year experimental period. This new program would: (a) standardize and coordinate the operation of the employment services administered by the League's numerous affiliates;

(b) work directly with major industrial employers to hire blacks, to advance blacks already employed, and to encourage those workers to 'make good' on the job; (c) channel blacks toward locations offering opportunity and away from places already overcrowded; and (d) develop a social program for new urban families (Jones, 1925). In his report outlining the programs of the new department, the first national industrial secretary, T. Arnold Hill (1926), acknowledged the difficulties such efforts would bring to the League. He noted the need to inform migrant workers of the best opportunities wherever they might be "notwithstanding the difficulties and possible jeopardy of our [League's] southern connections" (p. 3).

Even when opportunities were found, League officials had to contend with trade union discrimination and the attitudes of white workers. Many employers justified discrimination by alleging that their white employees would object to a black presence. Some trade unionists believed blacks would bring down the standards of organized labor. Even Samuel Gompers, generally considered sympathetic to the race's cause, labeled black workers as "cheap men" because, in order to obtain work, they often accepted lower wages than whites (Logan & Winston, 1970, p. 51) . Moreover, black workers distrusted unions. Experience had taught them that some leaders kept African-Americans out of jobs by using the "threat" of black employment as a bargaining chip in labor negotiations. Hill hoped to use the services of the Workers' Education Bureau to reduce this distrust and correct misconceptions about black people. (Originally an independent organization, the Bureau became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in 1924.) At the Bureau's 1925 conference held in Philadelphia, Hill agreed to produce for it, under the auspices of the League, a publication dealing with the material and cultural contributions of African-Americans. This was a response to the unanimous passage of a resolution, introduced by League workers, recommending the inclusion in workers' education of the study of races and nationalities and their relationship to the labor movement. A draft of the proposed publication, to be based on research conducted by the League's Department of Research and Investigation, was to be submitted to the Bureau (Hill, 1926).

Ira De A. Reid (1927), industrial relations department secretary for the New York affiliate, planned an aggressive adult education program. He proposed the creation of study groups among black workers either in cooperation with the Workers' Educational Bureau or independently. Talks were held with officials of the Bureau, but nothing seems to have come of these contacts. Hill also spoke with union officials about the inclusion of black workers. However, Weiss (1974) suggests that the League was too closely identified with the business class, and its leadership feared that workers' education classes might offend business interests.

Hill and Reid, who would ultimately leave the New York affiliate to head up the National League's Research and Investigation Department, both held conservative views. They were apologists for black labor who worked to impress upon business the worthiness of blacks and sought contacts with white workers to educate them. During this period, improving the public image of black people became a major effort of the national League and its affiliates. As if to erase fears of radicalism, Reid (1927) wrote in his department circular, Industrial Newsletter: The Fly Leaf, that he did not plan to do what "Samuel Gompers described as 'hell-fare work.'" In this newsletter, sent to members of a newly formed Inter-racial Industrial Advisory Committee, Reid remarked that the League did not "expect a revolution in respect to the employment of capable colored workers," rather it hoped to see the start of "employers and employees on the right track" (p. 1). The committee was to assist by opening up new employment opportunities, facilitating adult education classes, devising new methods of dealing with "maladjustments" which limit employability of adults, studying relationship of blacks to New York's apprenticeship training, and conducting some educational programs with white workers to liberalize their points of view (New York Urban League, 1927).

In 1930 Hill once again offered an educational answer for the black workers' problems. He proposed that each affiliate be encouraged to develop an adult education program showing the needs of the community. As the Depression deepened, joblessness within the black community took on a new wrinkle; not only were blacks being denied access to employment, they were also being released from positions formerly secure. There was an "invasion of white workers" and the League saw its task as assisting blacks to hold onto the jobs customarily held by their group (National Urban League, 1929). Education of the Negro as worker became a key point. The League wanted blacks to know that economic forces were at work which diluted the black position and that joblessness was not simply the consequence of race prejudice alone. Thus, the inequities faced by black workers due to their continuing exclusion from employment opportunities and the growing labor movement among whites led the National Urban League to push for the recognition of African-American interests through study groups which it called workers' councils. In interoffice communications, Hill called these groups "kindergarten[s] of labor education and organization" (Hill, 1934, p. 183). As described in a pamphlet, "ABC of Labor Problems" (1934), the workers' councils were not to be confused with labor unions; rather, they were units for aggressive action on the part of black labor for full recognition within the regularly organized unions. The specific educational objectives of the councils were: (a) handling of grievances within the ranks of Negro workers; (b) instituting efforts for the inclusion of Negro workers in organized bodies of workers representing crafts, trades, and occupations excluding Negroes; (c) studying problems and methods of discrimination and exclusion and planning ways to overcome them; (d) participating in labor programs that are current from time to time; (e) interesting Negro workers in the efforts for social legislation, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, minimum wage, sickness insurance, and legislation on hours and conditions of work; and (f) educating the Negro community, the white community, and white workers on the history of Negro labor and Negro workers (National Urban League, 1934).

Although the League was working to improve race relations, the councils were not integrated. The National Urban League's industrial secretary, T. Arnold Hill, saw the councils as vehicles "for self-determination." They were to be of black workers and for black workers. The national office did not see itself as setting up "Jim Crow" unions as critics charged. Its rationale was that white and black workers had to be together in their labor organizations and that the councils were simply preparation to that end (Hill, 1934). This apparent departure from the "best elements of both races" principle usually followed by the League was meant to develop leadership. Lester Granger, secretary of the League's Workers' Bureau, supported this approach. He argued as follows:

> The real vital problems which face the Negro masses in America can never be solved by interracial action between simply the cultured groups of both races but must come about

> through closer cooperation of the "man at the bottom"--the workers who toil with their hands for weekly wages. ("Negro Workers," 1934, p. 1)

Granger was responsible for the growth of the councils. Under his administration more than 70 councils were established throughout the nation. A few of them were relatively short-lived; some became actual trade unions; and others remained loyal to the original purposes--that of being planning centers to inspire workers to organize and of being preparation to that end. There were misunderstandings about the role of the workers' councils. In personal correspondence to William Green, then president of the American Federation of Labor, Granger (1934) sought to assure Green that the League was not promoting dual unions and that council membership represented a cross-section of the labor leadership. In an early assessment of the work of the councils, Granger (1936) noted the support council members had given to organized labor and the eagerness with which members were expecting full union participation.

The workers' council established in Harlem in 1934 was unique because it was independent of the League. At the organizing meeting of the New York Workers' Council, the participants voted to permit workers of all races into the Council. The League resisted this idea to no avail ("Urban League Officials," 1934). Subsequent reports of the activities of the Council indicate the fear of a "red taint." By October 1935 Granger reported that the Council's leadership, which was definitely Communist, had alienated a good part of the community. However, Granger (1936) also claimed one concrete result of the Council effort--the organizing of workers' education classes under the federal government's Works Progress Administration (WPA). Other workers' councils also made significant achievements. A workers' council in Raleigh, North Carolina increased the number of skilled jobs available to blacks on WPA projects. Others worked actively to improve race relations and to strengthen black leaders.

The programs of the workers' councils generally followed guidelines established by the national office. Lectures and discussions were offered by government officials, labor leaders, and the workers themselves. Usually the program would have two parts. One-half dealt with a general problem facing the American worker and the other half with a special problem of the black worker. An information bulletin distributed by the National Urban

League stated the specific objectives for all councils. They were to focus on education and action--". . . *education* [emphasis added] in the problems of workers, the objectives of labor, the principles of industrial organization, and *action* [emphasis added] on violations of principles . . . ." (National Urban League, 1934, p. 3). Mass meetings, classes, and institutes were held during the year to focus on labor history, problems of workers, white and black, the advantages and disadvantages of belonging to labor organizations, and general economic and occupational conditions. This curriculum was distributed through a series of memoranda circulated by the national office.

The workers' councils ceased to be an important part of League efforts by the late thirties. Granger, who had been an important force, was granted a leave to serve on a New York State Commission. To some extent, the councils had fulfilled their purpose. More and more, black workers were being drawn into organized labor and League sponsorship became less necessary.

In addition to promoting its own councils, the League actively supported the Federal Workers' Education Program offered through the WPA. In New York, for example, recruitment for classes located in Harlem was undertaken by Granger and a community committee; however, hostility to government support hampered enrollment. Competition with Board of Education classes and the suspicions of leftist labor groups created an unfavorable climate. In addition, workers' education classes never received the publicity accorded to other educational endeavors. Ultimately, workers' education programs were placed under the Board of Education. By the outbreak of World War II, these programs were being gradually phased out. League interest also waned. Attention turned to vocational education for youth and defense industry jobs for adults.

The Urban League's direct involvement in workers' education is now past, as is its long-standing promotion of other aspects of adult education, such as job training, civic education, literacy education, arts appreciation, and liberal adult education. Its president, John E. Jacob, sees himself as a "services renderer who advocates," and his predecessor, Vernon Jordan, as "an advocate who provided services" (Rule, 1982, p. B11). Driven by a 50% drop in funding, changing priorities, and his own vision of the League's role, Jacob identified four issues which the League now targets: (a) pregnancy among black teenagers, (b) problems of poor households headed by black females,

(c) crime in black neighborhoods, and (d) voting registration and education (Rule, 1982). As in the past, "survival services" have become the order of the day. As is well-known, adult education suffers from marginality, often dictated by institutional needs and individual commitment. Yet clearly, the response to the four priorities now set involve adult education's most essential dictum, that of perspective transformation. If optimism and past practice are harbingers, education will once again be central to Urban League efforts.

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BUILDING FOR A LONG FUTURE: WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

Catherine Casey

> Workers' Education does not say "Come and be comfortable." It cannot be dressed in the garments of success. It demands the impossible. It calls for hard and clear thinking, for lonely work, for slow results and unregarded growth. The faithful servant of this calling may read "his victory in his children's eyes," but he will not live to see the day of its advent. He is building for a long future.
>
> Arthur Gleason, New Republic, April 1921

INTRODUCTION

The period from 1890 until the first decades of the 20th century was a time of intense social and political ferment in America, of rapid industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. Distant and isolated communities were being linked by railroads and communication systems and notions of nationhood were taking root in public consciousness. As the process of nation-building consolidated, international expansionism emerged as the new frontier. The modern industrial economy competed successfully with Britain, Europe, and Japan, and American global influence began to ascend.

Social thinkers, civic leaders, and reformers fueled public debates over the order and direction of American society. A popular theme was the need for efficiency in social organization, for productivity and individual responsibility, and for the elimination of social problems marring the march of American progress. These years were a period of contest among ideas that would set in place political choices, directions, and culture in 20th century America. In Europe, socialism, nationalism, and trade unionism were growing social movements. It was a period of militancy, social change, and fiercely contested political ideologies.

Within the labor movement, workers' education[1] was seen by some activists and writers as a central part of the contest. It provided an arena of radical political practice. By 1921 prominent union educators were proclaiming the success and hope of workers' education as the way forward for labor. Arthur Gleason, a prominent labor educator, argued in the New Republic that ". . . it [workers' education] is the instrument of control and the path of advancement of labor,"[2] while Fannia Cohn, the President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), celebrated the ". . . promise . . . of workers' education now being conducted in this country."[3]

Like labor education, the wider adult education movement was experiencing a period of expansion at the turn of the century. Many of the ideas and experiments in educational reform, in schooling, and in social settlement work influenced the development of adult education. Much of the focus in adult education was reformist and directed toward the Americanization of new immigrants. Beyond reformism, labor leaders and educators viewed worker's education as an agent of social transformation for the building of a new social order in America. In the words of union educator Fannia Cohn: "It [the Labor Movement] strives toward a new life. It dreams of a world where economic and social justice will prevail . . . where society will be organized as a cooperative commonwealth. . . . To attain this end it is necessary to develop a social conscience and a sense of responsibility in the labor movement. With this end in view, we set out to organize our educational work."[4]

Numerous activities, programs, classes, and longer-term courses in residential labor colleges were established within two decades. Many thousands of American workers participated in educational programs in a wide range of subjects that included both specific union-organizing matters and courses in literature, social science, and the arts. Many of the students in the programs went on to become labor leaders and educators. For women, workers' education programs provided opportunities previously unavailable to them, and many women successfully entered positions of influence and activism in the labor movement.

However, by the 1930s the flowering of workers' education in America faded. Labor schools and colleges closed their doors, and many shorter programs and centers folded. As the Depression worsened, organized labor consolidated its power in a struggle for wages and work. Educational activities were marginalized and neglected. Looking back from the late 1980s, questions arise over what happened in labor education in those early years: What were the ideas and themes in the early years of labor education that nurtured the burgeoning programs? What were the factors in the struggle for ascendancy between social reformist and social transformationist ideas? What did labor education achieve during the Progressive Era for American workers and, despite the decline, bequeath to later generations of working people?

This paper traces, first, the historical context of the early union and adult education movements in America and the sources and transmission of ideas for social change. Following a discussion on the programs and projects in worker education, it provides an analysis of the decline and repression of radical labor education.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In America, the first organization of workers resembling trade unions emerged in the late 18th century. In 1778 and 1779 two major strikes of printers and seamen occurred in Philadelphia. Shortly afterward shoemakers, carpenters, and cabinetmakers successfully established craft unions. By the early 19th century organizations of craftsmen were common in the eastern cities. Various workingmen's groups and small parties sprang up in some areas, and progress was made in the organization of women workers. The men and women of the needle trades formed a joint union in 1835, and seamstresses, tailors, binders, and related trades established a combined female union in Philadelphia in the same year.

By the mid 1830s a small group of unions attempted to form a national union organization in New York. They called a convention to "advance the moral and intellectual conditions and pecuniary interests of the laboring classes, promote the establishment of trade unions in every sector . . . and to unite and harmonize the efforts of all the productive classes of the country."[5]

The attempt at a national union organization did not succeed. Recognizing the prematurity of the move, labor leaders turned their efforts to promoting individual unions in many more cities. A rise in unionism accompanied increased industrial prosperity. Likewise, the unions encountered organized opposition to their formation and advancing influence among workers. In the 1920s historian Mary Beard stated that a "systematic effort was made to crush unions during the years from 1829-1842 when there were . . . prosecutions for criminal conspiracy."[6] Later histories of labor support her view.

The early ventures made some ground, but following the Depression of 1837 most union organizations were effectively destroyed. Not until after the Civil War did renewed efforts to establish labor organizations meet success. The Knights of Labor, founded in Philadelphia in 1869, drew together workers of all backgrounds, skilled and unskilled, organized and unorganized. The Knights sustained support and high membership until their eclipse by a rival labor body, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) established in 1886.

Throughout the remainder of the 19th century and into the 20th, fierce contests for political influence and control were waged within the labor movement. Some parts of the movement were strongly nationalist and, following the Depression in the 1830s, hostility among native-born Americans against European immigrants was revived. Many of the new immigrants brought with them radical social ideas along with cultural and religious differences. With experience in European labor movements and with the desire to build a better collective life for working people in the New World, the immigrant radicals provoked strong reaction both from within the American labor movement and from the state and employers.

Traditional American unionists were more interested in securing better wages, shorter hours, and protective laws than in cooperative and profit-sharing schemes offered by the radicals from Europe. Unionism that advocated wider political ends and called on working-class Americans of all races and occupations to work for political influence was not a popular movement. The AFL, under the long-term leadership of Samuel Gompers, stood firmly on a platform of "simple trade unionism." But minority factions were strong and competitive. After the demise of the Knights of Labor, the Socialist Labor Party struggled for influence in the AFL. The hostility, bitter disputes, and factional rivalry within the labor movement hampered the development of labor education until the early 1900s. Fewer disputes might have allowed preparation of the groundwork for worker education to occur earlier. As it was, internal conflict dominated the labor movement's agenda for many years. Worker education straddled a line between the labor movement and the wider adult education movement. It did not become a major focus for either movement, despite the efforts of some educators to achieve that.

Alongside the history of the labor movement, the story of adult education in America followed a different, less turbulent path. Adult education had occurred through many informal channels for many years. The Christian church's early interest in providing education for working people arose out of a wish to enable people to read the Bible and write their signatures. Later, with industrialization demanding more skilled workers, employers' interest in some form of adult education became apparent. In the late 19th century the emerging progressive movement produced a number of socially-minded persons from church and community groups interested in providing adult education classes to alleviate the harshness of poverty and the problems of mass immigration.

In 1926 the growth and popularity of the movement, and the interest taken in adult education by the Carnegie Corporation, brought about the establishment of the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE). The political implications of Carnegie's philanthropic involvement were important. The corporation's involvement inevitably led to a role that provided "guidance and control" along with substantive funds.[7] By 1926, a strong professionalization theme was emerging as the dominant paradigm in adult education. This theme was developed by the new AAAE organization.[8] The "scientific" notions that marked so much of Progressive Era thinking on education also permeated adult education. Adult education became focused on the "useful, functional and pragmatic"[9] as the standards for knowledge.

For Malcolm Knowles, adult education was part of the "maturation of a nation"[10] then occurring in America from the late 1880s to 1920, a view characteristic of much of the thinking of the Progressive Era itself. Adult education was organized and offered through a plethora of institutions: schools, clubs, YWCAs, study circles, churches, settlement houses, and community associations. Many of the activities in those years were intent on building a well-organized and managed society and shaping adults to be responsible in personal and civic life. The prevailing character was reformism --improvement through education and efficiency. The movement enjoyed many successes; yet, not all educators accepted or operated within that paradigm. Some radical educators worked for wider social change and a different vision of American society. In addition to working within the major providing organizations, many radical educators sought involvement in labor education, working alongside radicals from within the labor movement, to use education as the way forward for labor and for socialism.

THE CONTEST OF IDEAS

An examination of the inheritance and formation of ideas in adult education, and specifically, workers' education, casts important light on the contest that emerged between social reformist and social transformationist ideas. For many progressive reformers, the concept of an ordered and educated society with a regulated, but not planned, economy would lead America to the prosperous democracy of popular aspiration. Their conflict with radical socialists who sought a democratic socialist America--although there were many competing views of socialism debated at the time--was largely over the role of social class as tool of analysis and as a guide toward goals. For radicals, the vision was of a transformed social order in which the capitalist economic system was rejected and in which the structures of social classes would be eliminated. For reformers, the task was to construct a welfare society built on national prosperity and responsibility for others. Adult education was an arena in which these competing visions and agenda were contested. For most reformists, adult education was a vehicle toward the Americanization of immigrants into productive and orderly members of the existing social order. Underlying this position was a focus on the improvement of the individual as a moral and spiritual being. Beneath the conflict between the viewpoints lay a conflict of culture and a deep mistrust of "foreign" or European ideas and activists. The cultural factor was exploited by conservative forces in opposition to both movements. Popular pejorative images of illiterate peasant immigrants depicted as inefficient industrial workers were commonly published in advertisements and cartoons of the time.

Nonetheless, there was a confluence of ideas between adult education and labor education that can largely be attributed to the involvement of certain key individuals who saw labor education as part of the wider adult education movement. Workers' education owes a substantive debt to the European labor movement from which many of the ideas and early experiments can be directly traced. In the late 19th century many

European and British socialists and union activists entered the American labor movement. Most were involved in union organizing and in labor organizations, but others became active in educational pursuits. They encouraged union-sponsored classes and discussion groups on social and economic issues. For these activists, worker education was a site of political activity. In some areas of high immigrant concentration special schools for workers of specific ethnic groups were established. The Finnish Work People's College in Duluth was one such project.

In addition to the significant influence of European ideas, the American labor movement had a strong tradition of supporting public education. Long before mass public education was available to all American citizens, the value of education and the claim for public schooling was on the agenda of many sectors of the labor movement. Early labor leaders looked upon education as the "real hope of workingmen in their struggle to improve their lot."[11] In 1829 public education was the first demand of the Workingmen's Party of Philadelphia. In the early decades of the 19th century, labor worked for the establishment of free libraries in towns and cities "for the use and benefit of . . . workingmen."[12]

With the resurgence of labor organizations in the latter part of the 19th century, the labor movement promoted education, especially vocational and industrial training.[13] In its efforts in support of free public education, the labor movement was "thinking mainly of equal opportunity for the children of the workers to rise from the ranks of manual toil."[14] Since 1881 the AFL had publically supported education, especially schooling for the young. It also urged the introduction of curricula that would "teach the dignity of manual labor and give a proper understanding of the labor movement."[15] Notwithstanding, the AFL leadership often took an ambivalent, and at times obstructive, stand on the development of workers' education that promoted the advancement of workers as agents in the construction of a new social order. The longstanding leader, Samuel Gompers, supported industrial education and job training, but little direct AFL support for wider workers' education was evident in the early years. It was not until after the First World War that the AFL developed any significant interest in workers' education. Its position on workers' education largely remained vocational and reformist, in support of an economic unionism that was essentially nonideological. Before the War, the major activities in worker education took place outside the mainstream of the labor movement. These activities were influenced most strongly by ideas from Europe and the work of American radicals and intellectuals who advocated them.

In 1885 a residential labor college was founded in Trenton, Missouri modeled on and named after Ruskin Hall in Oxford, England. Shortly afterward, the Breadwinners' College, a Fabian-inspired school, opened in New York. This was followed in 1906 by the opening of the Rand College, a socialist school for socialist education, also in New York. These ventures were directly inspired by European experiments, but their alliance with branches of organized labor was weak. In 1903 the National Women's Trade Union League (NWTUL), again a replica of a British organization, was established. This organization played a significant role in organizing worker education for women, as did the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union of America (ACWUA). The women activists and intellectuals involved in these projects worked vigorously for the advancement of women workers and for an improvement of women's lot in all areas of life. Consequently, feminist and women's suffrage ideas came into the debate. As these programs developed and participation dramatically expanded, questions over what workers' education was for, and what its curricula should contain, were more intensely debated.

At the same time, the AFL was being challenged by the rise of other, more militant, union organizations. The wider sphere of adult education adopted a predominantly reformist, adaptive model deflecting the more radical intentions inspired, for instance, by the British Plebs League, whose members were active in America. Joseph Hart, commenting in the early 1920s,[16] identified the prevailing view of adult education as efforts to reform or complete the uneducated or malformed adult in American society. The assumption, according to Hart, was that the deficiency rested with the individual and not with the wider social order. "Our refusal to deal with our educational problems as if they were social and real is repeated in all other aspects of American life. Education is in practice conforming and shaping individuals, it is not adequate to the needs of a democracy."[17]

The debate involved a contest for the kind of democracy that Americans wanted. For the early radical educators, the vision of workers' education was not an adaptive or reformist model, but essentially one that sought to enable working-class Americans to shape their own lives and to build a socialist society. From Europe and Britain, social ideas and educational experiments filtered into America. Immigrants brought new ideas with them, and American activists developed informal networks during their frequent visits to Europe.

These ideas contrasted with reformist views concerning goals and political objectives of education, the role of the state, and the nature of American democracy, but sorting out the key actors into clearly labeled ideological positions would be misleading. For some individuals and groups, clear location through their own description is possible. But for others, the complex interweaving of ideas and projects produced some curious alliances between reformers and radicals and makes simple classification misleading. In part, this feature is a result of the eclectic, nonprogrammatic character of American socialism. A prominent, mildly left-wing journal of the period, the New Republic, published the writings of John Dewey, more usually identified as a progressive reformer, as often as those of Arthur Gleason and Fannia Cohn, radical socialist educators. There was an element of fluidity and experimentation that surrounded the prominent voices of the ideologues and activists from both broad perspectives that is evidenced in some of the projects undertaken in the name of workers' education. A more comprehensive analysis of these interactions and processes is beyond the scope of this paper.

SCHOOLS, PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS - WORKERS' EDUCATION IN PRACTICE

Historians have selected some projects and persons in adult education to be remembered more popularly and generously than others. Despite the confluence of ideas and actors, adult educators have paid little attention to workers' education in the early decades, preferring to honor the contributions of reformist educators that led to the establishment of the American Association for Adult Education. When workers' education is remembered, it is usually the settlement house projects or the labor colleges that are discussed. Yet, often preceding and outlasting these important developments were the educational activities of other persons and groups in trade union organizations.

Alongside the influence of European ideas, the other major contributors to workers' education in America were several women unionists and educators working in the early years of the 20th century. In particular, programs initiated by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, and the National Women's Trade Union League in 1903 were significant. The work of the NWTUL has been surprisingly ignored by most historians, especially its role in the development of workers' education. From its outset the NWTUL had a difficult relationship with the AFL and its leader Samuel Gompers, who at one stage sought to replace the League with an AFL committee.

Prior to the establishment of the Workers' Education Bureau (WEB) in 1921, which aligned itself with the AFL, workers' education had been going on outside the mainstream of the labor movement. Most of it was being organized by and for women workers in both unionized and nonunionized work places. The NWTUL was formed in 1903 to organize women into trade unions which would work for labor law reform and the improvement of working conditions for women. It developed educational programs for both women and men, believing that cultural and leisure programs were also a part of workers' education.

By 1913 education emerged as the NWTUL's primary focus. It offered courses in social issues and economics, public speaking, writing letters, and organizing skills. Most branches of the League sponsored various social, recreational, and cultural activities, which built allegiance to the union at the same time that they enriched the lives of working women and girls who usually left school at 13 or 14 years of age. In 1914 the NWTUL organized a project in the Training School for Women Organizers, the first residential workers' education program offered in the United States. Its curricula included fieldwork in union organizing as well as academic study. In 1915 the school changed its name to the School for Active Workers in the Labor Movement to describe more accurately the education it provided. Its work was disrupted during the War and, like most others, it eventually closed in 1926. The League's journal, Life and Labor, provides an excellent record of the School, the League's other activities and programs, and its philosophy of worker education during these years.

The leaders and educators of the League's school were deeply concerned with the need to unionize women and to involve them in the wider associations of the labor movement. The AFL rarely took up women's interests. Writing in 1925, Margaret Hodgen, a strong advocate of workers' education, recalled that "of course the AFL never went to the length of excluding working women from membership. It merely treated the solution of their problems . . . as a subject for public declamation and private neglect."[18] Hodgen's statement summarizes the exclusion and sense of marginality most women workers felt toward the AFL and their general collective experience in the labor movement.

Among the NWTUL's training school's first participants was Fannia Cohn, a socialist and president of her local of the ILGWU in New York. Cohn spent her life in workers' education in association with the ILGWU. The school experienced problems over curricula. Tensions between middle-class "allies" and educators, on the one hand, and working-class unionists, on the other, persisted. Nonetheless, it successfully trained many women workers in the skills of union organization and promoted the importance of education for workers. As a pioneering experiment it influenced the development of a number of other projects, in particular the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Working Women that began in 1921.

Another important contemporary activity was the development of educational programs within the ILGWU, half of whose members were men. The ILGWU gained considerable experience in union organizing and industrial disputes, especially following the Triangle Shirtwaist Company strike in 1909 and the disastrous fire there in 1911. In 1915 the ILGWU set up an educational department with Juliet Poyntz as the director. The department developed a comprehensive program, which focused on education about labor problems and union organization. Its purpose was to advance the social cause of labor and build a better social order. Poyntz was succeeded by Fannia Cohn in 1918. Much of the educational activity took place in community or union local groups. Unity Houses, established at public high schools, provided places where workers gathered for lectures, shop meetings, and courses. In 1916 the

ILGWU also set up a Workers' University to conduct classes on Saturday and Sunday mornings. Once again, the curricula offered a mixture of union-focused subjects and wider education in culture, politics, and literature.

For some years, workers' education based on a vision of social transformation burgeoned. In 1921 a convergence of several events and forces saw the organization of the Workers' Education Bureau and the launching of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Working Women. Some labor colleges were founded in the same year, following others established during the previous decade. In 1919 a labor college opened in Rochester, New York, and by the early 1920s labor colleges operated in Boston, Wisconsin, California, Amherst, Denver, Washington, New York, and Philadelphia. The history of these colleges deserves to be told separately. There were many differences in style and operation, but their distinctive shared characteristic was their independence from the control of universities whose involvement was solicited only in an advisory capacity. Many worker educators were suspicious of universities, in part because of their traditional bourgeois character. Losing control of worker education programs to the universities was likely to bring about the embourgeoisment of workers--an end contrary to the wishes of these labor educators.

The various summer schools, of which Bryn Mawr is a prominent example (others were established at Barnard, Washington, Boston College, and elsewhere), featured strong university involvement and were usually noted for their intention to improve and 'embourgeoise' the working-class student. Nonetheless, the programs enjoyed a good level of success and popularity. It is difficult to measure the degree of embourgeoisement. Many unions benefited from the skills their members gained in the programs, and clearly many individuals experienced a level of education and social life that benefited their personal lives enormously. In the short personal accounts of student experiences in these schools, which appeared regularly in union newspapers and the New Republic, readers found conflicting claims about the worth of the programs in contributing to the social transformation.

The labor colleges--early examples being the Rand School in New York and Finnish Work People's College in Duluth--sought an independent worker education that upheld working-class culture and enabled working people to shape the world, not simply cope with it and adjust to it. This commitment to social change was shared by most union-based workers' education, but was not proclaimed by the university-sponsored programs. The latter in the words of the Bryn Mawr declaration in 1921, ". . . shall not be committed to any dogma or theory but shall conduct its teaching in a broad spirit of impartial inquiry."[19]

Other union groups were beginning to organize educational programs of their own. The International Workers of the World (IWW) had formed a Trade Union Educational League within the AFL. Other groups of ethnic workers were organizing workers' education, notably some Jewish study groups in New York. The Labor Temple was also offering various educational programs, again in New York City. In an effort to draw together the threads of workers' education emerging among unions and organizations, to develop policy and to coordinate activities, a group of worker educators came together in April 1921 and formed the Workers' Education Bureau. For most, the task at hand was to spread the belief that worker education was the way forward for the labor movement.[20] Despite some opposition, the WEB sought alignment and endorsement of the AFL. Although the AFL was slow to appreciate the value of workers' education, its endorsement seemed necessary in order to gain wider labor movement support.

These pages have briefly sketched the story of workers' education which developed in the 1910s through the early 1920s. Contemporary commentators recorded the rapid growth and interest workers' education generated. In 1921 Fannia Cohn concluded: "No experiment in adult education has taken hold more promptly and with greater promise than the experiments in workers' education now being conducted in this country. From a movement of practically no significance as recently as five years ago, it has grown so rapidly that it is only a matter of a few years before every important industrial city will have its own classes."[21]

Of course, Cohn's enthusiasm and bias may well be attributed to her central role in, and public commitment to, workers' education. Later historians have not expressed as much excitement about the role of workers' education in labor history--an omission that is perhaps an expression of another bias that has overlooked the role women activists played in the labor movement. However, there is little doubt that workers' education grew rapidly and expounded great hope for the labor movement until the mid-1920s. A number of factors contributed to its decline.

REPRESSION AND DECLINE

Throughout the years of promise and reform during the Progressive Era, an undercurrent of repression and control operated against various radical leaders and organizations. Employer groups and the state generally made little distinction between radical groups and their various causes. They regarded all labor organizations as being tinged with radicalism, and therefore, a threat to the state. Mobilization of employer groups against organized labor reflects the long struggle between capital and labor. In addition, employers viewed socialism and other radical ideas such as anarchism, syndicalism, and communism, as European, foreign, and fundamentally anti-American. As suggested earlier in this paper, many of these views resulted from cultural and religious prejudice against predominantly Jewish and Catholic immigrant communities. Certainly the interactions of both sets of forces led to a strong campaign of opposition to the advancement of the labor movement and workers' education. The commentators and records of the period convey a sense of the intensity and severity with which unionism, socialism, and other dissenting viewpoints were repressed.[22]

Repressive measures against unions and their activities began in the late 19th century, but events of the 1910s paved the way for more extensive and effective repression in the early 1920s and 1930s. The First World War provided an opportunity for the state to act against union organizations. The labor movement was divided on its standpoint toward the War. The prominent socialist labor leader Eugene Debs publically declared his opposition to the War and America's involvement in it, while Samuel Gompers eventually supported it. The United States' entry into the War added fuel to the fire of anti-foreign sentiment, which was already active in American society. The AFL, seeking to advance the interests of native-born American workers, supported moves to stem the flow of immigration to the United States. Legislation passed in the 1920s ensured the ebbing of the tide.

Passage of the Espionage and the Sedition Acts in 1917 and 1918, respectively, made it illegal to speak or publish views contrary to the United States Government's declarations. Consequently, the socialists, who were vocally opposed to the War, came under attack. Raids on persons and offices led to prosecutions and convictions.[23] Under the Espionage Act, 105 Wobbly leaders were tried in Chicago and thousands of members were arrested and harassed. Despite the disintegration of the Wobblies, a "red scare" swept the nation after 1917 as news of the Bolshevik victories in Russia arrived in America.

During the War years most of the attacks against labor were directed against the "radicals" and "reds," not at more traditional or orthodox unions. By the 1920s further attacks against the wider labor movement occurred. Trade unionism had advanced during the War years despite the purging of radical organizations. More workers were unionized than ever before. Major gains in labor legislation had been achieved, providing the 10-hour day for women workers and child-labor reform in most states. Workers' education was gaining ground in a number of larger unions and gaining recognition from established national bodies in many cities.

Workers' education, more closely linked with the fortunes of the labor movement than with those of the wider adult education movement, was inevitably adversely affected. In 1921, as several new programs opened, workers' education came under attack. In a report to the New York Legislature, the Lusk Committee (Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities) classified "various trade union enterprises for adult education as seditious and un-American".[24] Although direct evidence of raids on union educators or classes is lacking, the effects of the investigations and the "red scare" obstructed the efforts of educators in attracting workers to educational programs.

As the decade of the 1920s progressed, anti-labor activity increased. The New York State Legislature declared elected members who were members of the Socialist Party ineligible to hold their seats. Mobs of ex-soldiers and civilians raided union and Socialist Party offices. Strikes and rallies during the post-War Depression were regularly broken up by the police with the assistance of employer-hired strike-breakers. By the mid-1920s, with the combined effect of the legal and economic attack, membership of labor organizations had dramatically declined.

Some union educators blamed not only the forces of opposition, but the lack of initiative on the part of the American working class. According to Gleason, "We like mass entertainment better than hard thinking, discussion and the habit of book reading . . ."[25] In the NWTUL and the ILGWU, leaders lamented the high turnover of working women in their classes as they left education to enter the demands of domesticity.[26] Still others worried about the curriculum and the problem of control in workers' education. The factors leading to a decline were complex and extensive.

In addition to the organized repression experienced by the labor movement, thinkers, activists, and civic leaders identified with the Progressive Movement also experienced harassment. For progressive reformers not aligned with the socialist or labor movements, the success of their movement had been secured in areas of legal reform and public education. Either their visionary zeal had been fulfilled, or it had been dampened by organized opposition to remaining tasks. For many, a wish to consolidate change, to slow its pace, and perhaps, just to rest, led to a decline in activity. The relative prosperity of the 1920s and the supremacy of business did not provide a supportive atmosphere, and the progressivism of the liberals and radicals waned as the 1920s advanced.

For adult education, the formation of a national organization and a substantive injection of philanthropic assistance tied to organizational control, led the movement away from a popular base into a growing emphasis on professional training. The remaining radicals in adult education were themselves subject to investigation by state commissions. By the late 1920s most of the labor colleges, all of which had been plagued with considerable financial problems, had closed. The various university-sponsored summer schools were experiencing similar financial troubles, and a fall-off in membership. These events, combined with the general decline in unionism, resulted in a period of retrenchment for worker education. Within specific unions and organizations worker education continued to be offered, but in the wider labor movement its progress to the central agenda was halted. For the next few decades workers' education remained peripheral and neglected.

CONCLUSION

Education has never been freely provided, nor has it been equally extended to all classes, races, and groups in society. The extent to which organized education has excluded is as significant as the achievements among those it has included. When education began to be provided to adult working-class people in the 19th century, a feature of the development was the careful control of the curricula and administration in the hands of the upper-class providers. Working-class people were welcome to attend adult classes for their betterment, but were not invited to participate in the boards and councils that set the curricula. Workers' education, as it developed in America in the early years of this century, sought education for the betterment of workers as individuals and the building of a new social order; equally important, it permitted and expected the participation of worker-students in its organization and control. Tensions and debates ran high, but the commitment to a struggle for democratic participatory structures was upheld. This radical democratic dimension in the practice of early worker education significantly supported the social transformationist theme upon which the programs were founded.

The social democratic theme in adult education and in labor education shares much of its heritage with the pioneering efforts to democratize education during the Progressive Era. Outside adult and worker education, major reforms in schooling were taking place. Public participation in deciding the type of schooling that Americans wanted and how it should be organized was a successful outcome of the Progressive Era reforms. In worker education, these democratic impulses and values were retained during the years of its decline and neglect.

Looking back over those years, the work of women educators and radical intellectuals contributed enormously to the development of workers' education in America. It is interesting to consider the extent to which the programs organized by women educators in predominantly women's unions at a time when women's voices in the labor movement were muted or ignored provided much of the framework and shaped much of the philosophy of workers' education as it was slowly picked up by other union groups. It is also somewhat surprising that most historians of the American labor movement have omitted mention of the educational activities undertaken by these groups and the role they played in bringing women into the labor movement. Workers' education in the Progressive Era may not have achieved the dramatic new social order its advocates envisioned. Beset by profound opposition from both outside the labor movement and within it, it nevertheless made a significant contribution to the long revolution in the struggle for democracy and social justice.

NOTES

1. The term 'workers' education was used during the Progressive period. In post WWII years 'labor education,' covering the terms 'worker education' and 'trade union education,' has become the usual expression. I have used 'workers' education' when discussing the activities of the period and other terms where appropriate.

2. Arthur Gleason, "Workers' Education," New Republic, 20 April 1921, 235-37.

3. Fannia Cohn, "Workers' Education," New Republic, 12 October 1921, 173-74.

4. Fannia Cohn, "What Workers' Education Really Is," Life and Labor, October 1921, 230.

5. Mary Beard, A Short History of the American Labor Movement (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 51.

6. Ibid., 52.

7. Law discusses the role of Carnegie's involvement in adult education and suggests that the political implications have been regularly overlooked by adult education historians, in Michael Law, "An Elephant's Graveyard or Buried Treasure? The Syracuse Adult Education Collection" unpublished report to Kellogg Project, Syracuse University, 1988.

8. Ibid., and Malcolm Knowles, The Adult Education Movement in the United States (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1962).

9. Knowles, Adult Education Movement, 36.

10. Ibid., 34.

11. Beard, A Short History, 40.

12. Ibid.

13. Issues of the American Federationist, the publication of the American Federation of Labor, provide many examples of this position.

14. Beard, A Short History, 196.

15. Warren B. Catlin, *The Labor Problem in the United States and Great Britain* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1926), 485.

16. Joseph Hart, *Adult Education* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1927), 173.

17. Ibid., 195.

18. Margaret Hodgen, *Workers' Education in England and the United States*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trubner & Co., 1925), 197.

19. Editorial, *New Republic*, 18 May 1921, 337.

20. Gleason, "Workers' Education," 235.

21. Cohn, "Workers' Education," 173-74.

22. Beard, *A Short History*; Hodgen, *Workers' Education*; Ruth Kotinsky, *Adult Education and the Social Scene* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933).

23. Sidney Lens, *Radicalism in America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966), 281.

24. Hodgen, *Workers' Education*, 265.

25. Gleason, "Workers' Education," 236.

26. A good example of the NWTUL's ambivalence toward 'losing women to marriage' is cited in Robin Miller Jacoby, "The Women's Trade Union League Training School for Women Organizers, 1914-1926," in *Sisterhood and Solidarity: Workers' Education for Women 1914-1984*, eds. Joyce Kornbluh, and Mary Frederickson (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 5-35.

NEW DEAL TEACHER-TRAINING CENTERS, 1934-1935

Joyce L. Kornbluh

In summers 1934 and 1935, forty residential, six-week teacher-training centers, initiated and administered by Hilda W. Smith under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) Emergency Education Program, aimed to develop workers' education practitioners for government-sponsored relief classes. The centers, held on college campuses in 27 states, were the first federally-funded teacher-training programs in the United States. Approximately 1700 trainees and 200 staff were involved. The trainees, all unemployed, included many who had no prior college education. Many staff members for the residential program came from Smith's Affiliated Schools for Workers and YWCA networks.[1]

Smith and her able assistant Ernestine Friedmann, a former staff member at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers (BMSSWW), hoped to disseminate informal, nondidactic methods pioneered at the residential workers' schools in the 1920s. She and her small national staff prepared vast amounts of materials relating classroom democracy to social and political democracy. These advocated an active and informed citizenry educated through a process of critical thinking about social issues as a way of linking group-centered classroom learning to more intelligent community involvement. At the beginning of the New Deal, the liberal rhetoric of these goals fit the Roosevelt Administration's agenda, although as time went on over the next several years, Smith's pedagogical intentions fit less well with the New Deal's political thrust and pragmatic focus on relief.[2]

The teacher-training program, as well as the rest of the New Deal workers' education activities, were caught in the ideological and organizational cross fire between the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the nascent Committee, then Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). It also was in the middle of the battle between the public school establishment and the Roosevelt Administration. Across the country, the centers were also attacked as a federally-funded program that was partisan to labor and infiltrated by leftist ideologues. The teacher-training centers of 1934 and 1935, as a result, serve as a microcosm of several issues facing workers' and labor education at that time, and now: tensions about goals, content, staffing, sponsorship, political support.[3]

The teacher-training centers of 1934 and 1935, initiated to develop workers' education instructors, were the precursor of a national Works Progress Administration (WPA) program of federally-funded teacher training for instructors of all relief classes in 1936 and 1937 and fostered the continued dissemination of progressive and adult education philosophy and techniques to new populations. They were also the impetus for degree-granting adult education graduate programs started in the 1930s at many universities around the United States. The centers served as a pivotal program, linking developments, techniques, and materials from the 1920s' residential programs for workers to later generations of labor education practitioners. They also disseminated these contributions to wider adult education and social science communities.[4]

THE CONCEPT OF TEACHER TRAINING IN WORKERS' EDUCATION

The concept of teacher training for workers' classes had been proposed and discussed throughout the 1920s at meetings of the Workers' Education Bureau (WEB); Local 189 (the local union of workers' educators founded at Brookwood Labor College in the mid-1920s); and at multiple conferences of the Affiliated Schools for Workers (later called American Labor Education Service - ALES). Then, as now, there was a paramount need to develop practitioners knowledgeable about the labor movement, experienced with informal classroom techniques, and skilled in leading discussions about union and work place issues. One of the most interesting proposals for teacher training was advanced about 1924 by Eduard Lindeman, who recommended that the Workers' Education Bureau initiate a traveling Chautauqua, a bus of trainers and materials that would crisscross the United States, holding workshops and conferences along the way.[5]

Smith promoted teacher training from the beginning of her troubled tenure as director of the New Deal's Workers' Service Program. In a memo sent to government administrators in August 1933, prior to being hired by Harry Hopkins and starting her job in the fall of that year, she recommended "a nationwide program to train unemployed teachers in a new method of experimental education . . . to conduct a department of educational method and research in teaching problems (and) to prepare and distribute suitable pamphlet materials."[6] In multiple memos and meetings, Smith lobbied Hopkins, Eleanor Roosevelt, Aubrey Williams, and others at the national level about the need to develop a federally-financed teacher-training program within the context of the New Deal Emergency Education Program to disseminate the philosophy and methods of progressive education and experiential group work learning that had developed at the residential programs for workers in the 1920s. She recommended holding such a project at the Bryn Mawr campus in connection with the annual summer schools for women workers. She also aimed through such a program to help finance the staff and floundering programs of the ALES that were cash poor in the early 1930s.[7]

The need for persons trained to lead workers' courses in the New Deal Emergency Education Program became acute during Smith's first winter on the job. Requests accelerated for instructors to teach FERA-sponsored classes for workers in union halls, settlement houses, community centers, and public schools. Relief instructors had educational backgrounds ranging from high school dropouts to those with Ph.Ds. New Deal regulations only required that instructors be unemployed, eligible for relief, and have some experience (vaguely defined) in the field to be taught. Very few instructors tapped for workers' classes were familiar with diverse work place conditions, issues facing unions, and the philosophy of the labor movement. Fewer had taught adults with little formal schooling.[8]

Smith's goals for the teacher-training centers were clearly pedagogical rather than rehabilitative. Within the relief focus of the New Deal, they were ambiguous and unrealistic. However, the outline of this program tapped Hopkins' paramount interest in the relief and rehabilitation of white-collar professionals, especially teachers, who were among his main concerns.[9]

Smith wanted workers' educators to have many attributes:

> a sympathetic understanding of the labor movement; experience in unions or workplace groups; a knowledge of economics; a knowledge of their subject; communication skills; willingness to learn from their students; ability to relate their teaching to their own and their students' experiences; intellectual integrity; a broad, nonprejudiced cultural experience; a belief in adult students' ability to learn; an interest in the adult students as individuals; a warm, attractive, sympathetic personality; and a sense of humor.[10]

She spelled out this list, as stated above, in written memoranda, leading some critics to comment on her desire for "integrated paragons."[11]

This was indeed a tall order, given the administrative difficulties and short time available to organize the teacher-training centers in both summers of 1934 and 1935; in 1934, two weeks' time was allotted because of late federal appropriations and program confirmation. In addition, there were problems of recruitment to the centers; a lack of understanding by many trainees of the nature and purpose of the program; a shortage of faculty and administrators who, on short notice, could staff the centers, support these goals, and fulfill the ambiguities of the training program itself.

THE TEACHER TRAINEES

Teacher trainees were recruited hastily by administrators in relief offices who were unclear about the aims of the program. The trainees had to pass a means test that certified they were eligible for relief. In some states, they had to pass IQ and reading tests, as well. Trainees arrived at the centers with little knowledge of workers' or adult education, or awareness of the content of the program. Some came because they were assured of six weeks' pay of $18.00 a week, and room and board for the summer. Some arrived in need of medical care; many were dispirited from months of being jobless. Some brought families, contrary to advance instructions, hoping to provide three meals a day for spouses and children. Many had been told by relief administrators that the summers' training would lead to higher paying jobs as emergency education administrators in New Deal programs.[12]

Only half the trainees in 1934 and 1935 had any college education. Less than half had industrial experience and social science knowledge that Smith deemed important. After visiting the teacher-training center in southeast Pennsylvania, ALES director Eleanor Coit noted that not more than ten of the fifty trainees were interested in workers' education or unions at the beginning of the sessions. Florence Nelson, a staff member at the Arkansas center, wrote that only four of the forty-eight trainees had previously heard of workers' education and that "the psychology of looking down at the worker as an inferior being was instilled in their thinking." Constance Williams, the Connecticut center director, reported, "The opportunity to learn to develop workers' education played a less active role in shaping their attitudes and effort . . . then the desire of getting a job."[13]

Smith's first policy memo to center administrators and staff emphasized her lofty goals that the main objective of the program was to have trainees discover and practice methods of teaching social sciences to workers. She stipulated that the centers be run as nondidactic learning experiences focused on the needs and interests of participants, involving them in developing curricula, participating in center governance, incorporating adult education and group work methods in center classes, using trainees as discussion leaders, and developing contacts with local unions and their workers.

To implement these aims, she advocated classes on government, labor economics, and current events. She recommended field trips to factories, farms, community cooperatives, housing developments, and social service agencies. She suggested that participants observe workers' education classes at some of the residential schools for workers being held in 1934 around the country. She followed this memo by shipping to the centers vast quantities of reading materials and bibliographies that had been developed by the ALES and WEB as part of the grants they received in 1933 from the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations.[14]

THE FACULTY

Many of these recommendations were unrealistic given the limitations of the trainees as well as the hastily recruited training centers' faculty and staff. Most of the faculty were either academics (10%), members of various federal and state governmental industrial relations boards, researchers, or industrial workers. Few understood the trainees' needs, or the needs of their potential worker-students.

Many of the faculty, understandably, were ill-prepared. Many found it difficult to lead discussions rather than lecture, and to involve trainees in center governance. However, of approximately 200 faculty and staff at the 1934 and 1935 centers, about a third came from Smith's ALES and YWCA networks and had taught in workers' schools or classes. They included Lillian Herstein of the Chicago Teachers Union; Colston Warne, an economist from Amherst College; economist Amy Hewes from Holyoke College; drama teacher Susan Shepard, who had taught at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers; Nelson Cruikshank, a minister who worked closely with the New England labor movement; Arthur Calhoun, who had taught at Brookwood Labor College; and Mercer Evans, a specialist on southern labor from Emory College in Georgia.[15]

THE PROGRAM

Daily classes were held six days a week. In some of the schools, group projects, independent study, group discussions, labor drama, field trips, and guest speakers were part of the programs. Pennsylvania trainees bused to the AFL convention in Philadelphia, summer 1934. Colorado trainees drove to Denver to march in the 1934 Labor Day parade. Trainees in other centers visited union halls, factories, newspaper offices, co-op stores, housing projects, and shelters for the unemployed.

Some centers had trainees compile bibliographies and manuals for workers' classes; conduct simple surveys of work and living conditions in nearby areas; document the history of strikes in that state; chart the growth of membership in specific unions. Some centers used labor drama where trainees wrote and performed skits about sharecroppers, household workers, prostitutes, and industrial working conditions, as well as skits about their own experiences in relief offices and employment bureaus. Evening programs included folk dancing, group singing, mock forums on current issues, guest speakers on topics such as the League of Nations, co-ops, the role of the artist in society, technological change, and progressive education.[16]

ATTACKS ON THE PROGRAM

Smith's teacher-training centers of 1934 and 1935 came under attack from conservative political groups, the public school establishment, and the American Federation of Labor. Newspaper headlines challenged their content, teaching methods, materials, and personnel. Critics also flagged the appropriateness of their goals and the use of federal resources to finance the project, deemed "partisan" in the eyes of many.

Throughout the country, headlines from 1934 on proclaimed "Reds Rule FERA Schools," "Red Theories Taught Free by Uncle Sam," "WPA Hires Socialist for Director." Dailies from the New York Times to small town papers charged that class-conscious subjects were being taught. The articles claimed that anti-capitalist materials were used, books by radicals were assigned, and instructors had left-wing leanings.

An article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer charged that trainees in a FERA teacher-training center sang "The International," discussed strikes, and satirized the capitalist system. A full-page ad placed by the Republican Party in a western Pennsylvania paper stated that the teacher-training center in that area was "designed to make the students scoff at religion, sneer at the Church, jeer at the Supreme Court, and then go forth to stir up workers against employers." The Georgia training center was labeled "a hotbed of radical propaganda." The Washington Times reported the reaction of the town of Olivet, Michigan to the 1935 teacher-training center held in that community:

> The people of the village shuddered through six weeks of communistic activity at one of 100 such schools operated throughout the Raw Deal with taxpayers' funds . . . Men of Olivet wanted to take matters in their own hands and drive the students out of the village. And to add insult to injury, a lot of these crackpots spent the money the government gave them on beer.[17]

A number of the WPA teacher-training centers were investigated by national and state New Deal administrators as a result of these charges. In all cases, they were cleared. Negative public opinion, however, persisted as patriotic organizations such as the Liberty Leagues, American Legion, and Daughters of the American Revolution continued their campaign with letters and resolutions sent to congressmen and public officials calling for an immediate end to workers' education training centers and classes. Hearings held by the House Un-American Activities Committee in the mid-1930s continued to stir up additional opposition by focusing on Communist infiltration of industrial unions and the "traitorous" actions of New Deal politicians who supported or failed to suppress the accelerating industrial union movement and the militant CIO.[18]

Hostility to the centers and to the Emergency Education Program as a whole also came from public school officials at all levels. The school establishment perceived the New Deal education programs, including the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps as a dual system of education and training that would erode professional educational standards by using noncredentialed, inadequately educated personnel. They felt by-passed by the Roosevelt Administration, angry at political appointments, and shortchanged by the New Deal's failure to give existing school institutions higher appropriations to shore up their deficits.

Public school administration leaders attacked what they perceived as the increasing federalization of education and potential intervention into local control of education. Protective of their professional jurisdictions, they pressed for public educational agencies to have more control over the hiring and training of part-time temporary teachers assigned to relief classes.[19]

The American Federation of Labor also sought control over administration, staffing, and content of classes. Federation leaders feared outside radical influences in workers' classes that would challenge the craft organization of labor and weaken the loyalty of craft-union members to their unions and to the capitalist economy. Suspicious of outside intellectuals, frequently repressive of independent workers' education endeavors such as Brookwood Labor College and, later, the Highlander Folk School, the AFL adhered to a philosophy of business unionism that emphasized building labor's own strength through orderly collective bargaining processes.

Thus, Smith's programs were caught in the crossfire between AFL and CIO proponents. Attacks from AFL leaders undermined national and local support for the teacher-training centers as well as for the New Deal workers' education classes. The 1939 AFL convention resolution summed up the Federation's charges about bureaucratic inefficiency and mismanagement, erosion of educational standards, high costs, and ended: "At times there has been a gesture at cooperation with the AFL, but not permanently. (Personnel) have been appointed without consultation with state AFLs."[20]

There was indeed much reality behind these charges about Smith's teacher-training centers and workers' education classes. The Roosevelt Administration had deliberately by-passed the public school system in setting up the Emergency Education Program. Many New Deal administrators held that "if (public) education were to be called on to do the job, the New Deal would be largely, if unintentionally, sabotaged." In answering attacks from public school administrators and responding to 1936 charges from the National Education Association, Roosevelt reiterated the relief aspects of the New Deal education activities and only thinly covered his own skepticism and distrust about the effectiveness and efficiency of the public school system to meet current educational challenges.[21]

The charges of radical staff in the teacher-training centers and in the New Deal workers' classes also was based on reality, although much exaggerated. Communists, Socialists, Trotskyists, and other radical activists certainly sought jobs as workers' education staff and instructors. Autobiographies of radical leaders and novels by left-oriented authors were indeed on the reading lists for the teacher-training centers, along with books by progressive educators John Dewey, Eduard Lindeman, George Counts, and historians Harold Rugg, and Mary and Charles Beard. The mix of staff, readings and resources at the training centers certainly reflected the social and political ferment of the 1930s. At the same time, however, this mix gave ammunition to the political right that exaggerated its impact in its overall political attacks on the New Deal. As a result, Smith's program, including the teacher-training centers, was damned for its political implications rather than praised for its pedagogical intent.

CONTINUATION OF NEW DEAL TRAINING ACTIVITIES

In retrospect, Smith and Ernestine Friedmann evaluated the teacher-training centers as "three-quarters relief and one-quarter teacher training."[22] However, despite the administrative trials and tribulations and contradictory goals, the centers had an enormous impact. Smith's persistent lobbying and advocacy made New Deal administrators aware of the need to train instructors for all emergency education programs. In summer 1935, a nationwide WPA teacher-training program was authorized. Centers that trained teachers for workers' classes were absorbed into this larger program that came directly under the administration of Emergency Education Director Lewis Alderman. Smith was no longer involved. There was no controversial material on workers, unions, or work place conditions. Teacher-training centers were now run in cooperation with state and local public school officials and some universities.

Held for six weeks on college and university campuses, these centers continued to focus on teaching methods for adult classes as well as on New Deal legislation and social policies. These centers were a direct outgrowth of Smith and Friedmann's 1934 and 1935 project and carried on their work of disseminating information about adult learning and the need for new kinds of teaching techniques. Many materials on teaching methods that had been developed by ALES and WEB were also used in these later teacher-training sessions.[23]

Throughout the remainder of the 1930s, teacher training for adult participants was conducted in a variety of forms under state rather than federal sponsorship: one to five-week workshops, weekend, and one-day conferences. It was probable that every New Deal instructor received some form of in-service training. One source considered these teacher-training programs "possibly . . . the most valuable contribution of the Works Progress Administration. It accomplished the ultimate in achievement--the conversion of a liability into an asset. It took over thousands of teachers and professionally trained people who were literally on the scrap heap of life and not only trained them to do a job well (but to perform) a service to the community."[24]

Colleges and universities began to organize regular summer school courses that emergency education instructors could attend for credit, and many educational institutions organized degree programs and graduate departments of adult education.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE 1934 AND 1935 TEACHER-TRAINING CENTERS

Sixty percent of the trainees from the 1934 and 1935 centers were subsequently hired as emergency education instructors in New Deal classes, teaching workers and other adult students in union halls, settlement houses, YWCAs, and public schools. Several were appointed state supervisors of workers' education or city/county administrators in other New Deal emergency education programs. Sam Berger, Frank Fernbach, Hal Gibbons, Chris Jorgensen, Roy Reuther, Mike Rider, and Nat Weinberg went on from the teacher-training centers to long careers on labor union staffs or with other related organizations. In some areas, trainees formed support groups to spur interest in workers' education and to organize classes in that locale.[25]

These accomplishments can be directly attributed to Smith's project. Her vision and persistence linked the pedagogical accomplishments of the 1920s' residential schools for workers to the Emergency Education Program of the 1930s, and on into the post World War II period. She flagged for New Deal administrators the need to conduct federally-funded teacher training in a massive government-sponsored, national program. The links between these programs and earlier progressive education developments made a contribution to workers' education and to adult education that carried far beyond the New Deal period.

For most of the trainees, their involvement in group learning settings, however imperfect, offered them the first experience with educational democracy and participant-centered learning. Long before the term "group dynamics" became fashionable, these trainees were engaged in a peer-oriented process that was unique for that time.

In areas where there had been time to develop advisory committees, representatives of unions, community groups, and public school institutions became familiar with workers' education concepts and techniques, and laid the basis of working together on future workers' education projects. Financial support for the ALES and the WEB, and use of their materials, helped sustain these organizations during troubled financial times.

Universities and colleges became aware of their possible roles in developing credit programs in adult education and in noncredit workers' education extension classes. Trainees and staff were sensitized to new content areas, teaching-learning methods, potential coalitions, and political realities involved in developing workers'/labor education in a less than sympathetic political environment. Many institutions, programs, and lives were changed as a result.

"Whatever kind of teaching I do," one enthusiastic trainee wrote in evaluating the 1935 center that he attended, "I will never be the same person. I feel as though I have been living in a new world and I don't want to lose touch with it again."[26]

NOTES

1. U.S. Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), Teacher Training Centers in Workers' Education, 1934 and 1935 (Washington, D.C.: FERA, 1935); Hilda W. Smith, "People Come First: A Report of Workers' Education in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration, and the Works Progress Administration, 1933-1943." Hilda W. Smith Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.

2. Hilda W. Smith, "Memorandum on Policies for Organizing a Teacher Training Center," (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Specialist in Workers' Education, 1934); Doak S. Campbell, Frederick H. Bair, and Oswald L. Harvey, Educational Activities of the Works Progress Administration, U.S. Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 14 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939).

3. Joyce L. Kornbluh, A New Deal for Workers' Education: The Workers' Service Program, 1933-1942 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 96-114; 117-23.

4. Ibid., 123-26.

5. Eduard Lindeman to Spencer Miller, Jr., 29 October 1923, Correspondence-Spencer Miller, Jr. file, Workers' Education Bureau Papers, Martin P. Catherwood Library, N.Y. State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University; Workers' Education News, February 1924, 1; and June 1924, 1.

6. Hilda W. Smith and Spencer Miller, Jr., "Memorandum Sent to the Commissioner of Education, the Secretary of Labor and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration." In Smith, "People Come First, Appendix 1.

7. Ibid., 9-11; Hilda W. Smith to George Zook, 15 November 1933. Hilda W. Smith Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.

8. Campbell, Bair, and Harvey, Educational Activities, 4; Smith, "People Come First," 24-25.

9. U.S. FERA, Teacher Training Centers, 18.

10. Smith, "People Come First," 47.

11. Quoted in Harry Zeitlin, "Federal Relations in American Education, 1933-1943: A Study of New Deal Efforts and Innovations" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1958), 288-325.

12. U.S. FERA, Teacher Training Centers, 6.

13. Eleanor Coit, "Report of a Trip to FERA Teacher Training Center, West Chester, Pa., October 15, 16, and 17, 1935," American Labor Education Service Collection, rec. grp. 5225, box 15, Archives of the N.Y. State School of Industrial and Labor Relations; Florence Nelson, "Report of Workers' Education Teacher Training Center, A. M. and N. College, Pine Bluffs, Ark., 1935," p. 2, WPA Workers Service Program Papers, rec. grp. 69, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (NADC); Constance Williams, "Report of the Workers' Education Teacher Training Center, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., 1935," p. 1, WPA Workers Service Program Papers, rec. grp. 69.

14. Smith, "Memorandum on Policies for Organizing a Teacher Training Center," 2-5.

15. U.S. FERA, 1934 Workers' Education Teacher Training Centers, 13-14; U.S. FERA, Teacher Training Centers, 6.

16. This information is derived from the 1934 and 1935 reports of the directors of workers' education teacher-training centers in Ark., Calif., Colo., Conn., Ga., Ill., Mich., Minn., Miss., N.Y., Penn., and Wisc. NADC., rec. grp. 69, in the state files of the WPA Workers' Service Program.

17. Kornbluh, *A New Deal for Workers' Education*, 100-02; Hilda W. Smith Papers, rec. grp. A-76, Attacks file, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass.; Hilda W. Smith Papers, container 6, Newspaper Publicity 1935-1936 file, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.

18. Ibid.

19. Kornbluh, A New Deal for Workers' Education, 118-20; Zeitlin, "Federal Relations in American Education," 288-325.

20. Kornbluh, *A New Deal for Workers' Education*, 120-23.

21. Roscoe Pulliam, "The Influence of the Federal Government in Education," *School and Society*, 15 January 1938, 71; Zeitlin, "Federal Relations in American Education."

22. U.S. FERA, *Teacher Training Centers*, 6.

23. Kornbluh, *A New Deal for Workers' Education*, 76-77; 124-25.

24. Campbell, Bair, and Harvey, *Educational Activities*, 136-37.

25. Ibid., 154. U.S. FERA, *Teacher Training Centers*; Kornbluh, *A New Deal for Workers' Education*, 76-78.

26. Smith, "People Come First," 50.

EDUCATION IN THE WORK PLACE: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Robert A. Carlson

INTRODUCTION

Let me indicate to you at the outset that I am something of a newcomer to the study, specifically, of the education of workers. I did touch on the subject from time to time in dealing with the history of Americanization. More recently, some vexing problems in my own work place prompted me to survey current research in this area in the hopes of finding some clues as to effective ways of handling our situation. This recent study and my reading for this conference of the abstracts of the presentations on worker education and related themes have convinced me that worker education must become a focus of my future research efforts. I believe this area is of major importance to us as adult educators who are rethinking current and past practice of our field. I suspect, as well, that this research area may have implications we could explore at future conferences regarding our own situations as "academic workers" committed to the values of adult education but working within old, often hierarchical and autocratic institutions oriented primarily to business interests and to the preservation of the status quo in society.

As I reviewed the abstracts, it seemed to me that I could provide a useful function at this point in the conference today by drawing together and interpreting some of the findings of the earlier papers, by bringing a few more key actors in worker education a bit closer to center stage (including employer, employer-supported private educator, and the government), and by setting what might be a helpful overall political context. With this set of purposes in mind, I revised my paper to attempt a somewhat broader effort than originally intended.

THE CONFERENCE PAPERS

In his presentation Wednesday Sean Courtney noted the deep interest in social integration that marked this century. He pointed to the influence of that *Zeitgeist* in and through the social sciences. Harold Stubblefield told us about two U.S. manifestations of the Danish Folk High Schools, both of which were associated with the values of social integration--either seeking to make people feel they were a meaningful part of the society or attempting to help people empower themselves to become, in fact, a meaningful part of the social structure. The Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, described by Mary Frederickson, also seems to fit this pattern in some ways.

Michael Welton, Patrick Keane, and Gordon Selman added an international dimension to the concept of social integration via adult education. In describing the Antigonish Movement, Welton showed the U.S.-shared Canadian aversion to the notion of inevitable conflict between capital and labor. Keane indicated that the international mechanics institute movement, too, "proclaimed community of interests between capital and labor . . ." And Selman showed how the Liberal government that came to power in British Columbia in 1933 attempted to utilize "social planning" and adult education (governmental and private) in behalf of a "new social order," one that would bring all groups together in a happy, harmonious community.

What a difference from the Work People's College described by Richard Altenbaugh. If this College was truly a radical manifestation of adult education, one can understand the nervousness with which most adult educators in the U.S. and Canada might have viewed it, assuming they were aware of it or acknowledged it as an adult education organization. Work People's College, in seeking to create "a cadre of labor agitators" and in serving socialism and the Industrial Workers of the World, seemed to want to achieve "structural transformation," a goal Welton noted was unacceptable to many adult educators. This Duluth, Minnesota outfit would likely have been one of those early 20th century workers' movement institutions which Welton indicated were perceived as "dangerous and threatening to social order."

From the abstract it was hard to understand how the Work People's College could continue in its radical approach for two decades after what Rita Heller in her presentation identified as the beginning of "the American Workers' Education Movement" in 1921. Perhaps it is unfair for me to add one further word to her description of 1921 and to call it the beginning of the sanitized American workers' education movement. After all, the involvement of so prestigious an institution as Bryn Mawr College with its Quaker heritage of a deep commitment to peace could well help legitimize this sort of worker education to those who wanted cooperation, not conflict, between capital and labor. Bryn Mawr College and a school for workers may have been an "unnatural" coalition to Mary Beard. None the less, this was just the sort of social bridge, just the sort of "social integration," many in the progressive reform movement were working for in the early 20th century.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

A number of the so-called Progressives worried that the United States had gone off course. An increasingly urbanized and industrialized nation was straying from Jefferson's view of an America based on the yeoman farmer, on small agricultural holdings worked by the owners of those holdings. The Progressives viewed askance the rise of the new captains of industry--"robber barons," they called them. The appearance of this group in American life conflicted dramatically with Benjamin Franklin's plans for the nation as a "happy mediocrity," a happy and harmonious community.

In 1909 Herbert Croly articulated the Progressives' fear that the U.S. was at risk of becoming a class-divided society, the very antithesis of the purpose for which the republic was ostensibly established. ". . . The more intelligent and progressive American workingmen," he wrote, "are coming to believe that the American political and economic organization does not sufficiently secure the material improvement of the wage-earner." It bothered Croly that "the militant unionists are beginning to talk and believe as if they were at war with the existing social and political order--as if the American political system was as inimical to their interests as would be that of any European monarchy or aristocracy . . ."[1]

Croly's description of the problem went this way:

> The large corporations and the unions occupy in certain respects a similar relation to the American political system. Their advocates both believe in associated action for themselves and in competition for their adversaries. They both demand governmental protection and recognition, but resent the notion of efficient governmental regulation. They have both reached their existing power, partly because of the weakness of the state governments, to which they are legally subject, and they both are opposed to any interference by the Federal government--except exclusively on their own behalf. Yet they both have become so very powerful that they are frequently too strong for the state governments, and in different ways they both traffic for their own benefit with the politicians, who so often control those governments.

> Here, of course, the parallelism ends and the divergence begins. The corporations have apparently the best of the situation, because existing institutions are more favorable to the interests of the corporations than to the interests of the unionists; but on the other hand, the unions have the immense advantage of a great and increasing numerical strength. They are beginning to use the suffrage to promote a class interest, though how far they will travel on this perilous path remains doubtful. In any event, it is obvious that the development in this country of two such powerful and unscrupulous and well-organized special interests has created a condition which the founders of the Republic never anticipated, and which demands as a counterpoise a more effective body of national opinion, and a more powerful organization of the national interest.[2]

Thus, did Croly characterize the situation of labor and capital in his day. Croly's Progressive counterpoise, indeed the Progressive solution, was to be the intervention of a reformed government as honest referee and broker between the two interests.

SOME OF THE OTHER ACTORS

In this role, government was soon to involve itself in worker education, also, often in indirect ways, by encouraging the educational efforts of the two protagonists. Experience in the state of Wisconsin would provide the forerunner in the United States of protective labor legislation, of expanded company welfare and safety programs, and of industrial management techniques that have become widespread.[3] With the Progressive wing of the Republican Party in control of the Wisconsin Statehouse and with the support of its friends in the social sciences, such as Professor John Commons of the University of Wisconsin, a new State Industrial Commission began by 1912 to enforce state industrial safety and sanitation regulations in Wisconsin. It was also the force that ensured implementation of a state workmen's compensation act that overcame some of the common law advantages previously enjoyed by capital over labor.

Managements of some of the larger companies, notably International Harvester which maintained an important operation in Milwaukee, had already put in place educational activities for their workers within voluntary welfare programs intended, at least in part, to win worker loyalty to the

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company and away from unions. The programs also had to be justified on the grounds that they would improve worker productivity. International Harvester, for example, decided on its own to provide workers with such services as pure drinking water, medical aid for those injured on the job, and recreation and education facilities, including schools for apprentices.

The companies also accepted outside assistance from private educators. International Harvester's central headquarters plant in Chicago was among factories accepting the offer of the YMCA to provide immigrant workers with English lessons. The YMCA became heavily involved for a time in such educational endeavors for workers in America's factories. Other private educational organizations that were invited into the factories by employers also became involved. These private educational groups were motivated by the desire to enhance social cohesion in the nation.[4]

Within the International Harvester home office in Chicago a significant internal struggle was fought early-on over the philosophy of education to prevail at Harvester. One of the combatants was Henry Bruère, a University of Chicago graduate recommended by John Dewey, who took a broad view of industrial education. He wanted to use it, according to Gerd Korman, in "serving the entire industrial community" and in "uplifting workers in general."[5] Among those on the other side of the struggle was Charles W. Price, a company functionary who informed himself about safety and welfare issues and was rewarded by appointment as supervisor of International Harvester's welfare program. Price subscribed to what Korman termed a philosophy "of welfare activities as a means of harmonizing the relations between capital and labor, but always on company terms."[6]

That philosophy did not bother the Progressive government of Wisconsin or John Commons. In 1912 the government hired Price on the recommendation of Commons to direct the welfare and safety enforcement program of its new Industrial Commission. Both Commons and the government wanted to create harmony between capital and labor. What better person than Price to convince the recalcitrant among businessmen of both the self-interest and the public interest of their cooperation with government in rationalizing working conditions for labor and thereby improving relations between management and labor![7]

Progressive policy in Wisconsin was to enable government to intervene legally to regulate the work place should employer cooperation not be forthcoming. If the economic costs of accidents on the job were not clear enough, worker compensation decisions and penalties would bring the costs directly home to uncooperative employers. Woe to the employer experiencing an industrial accident involving an employee who had received no on-the-job safety instruction! One of the results was extensive expansion of employer safety education programs for workers.

Korman interpreted this and other aspects of what he called industry's "comprehensive welfare program" as "designed to develop company loyalty, employment stability, and harmonious relations with workers." The employer welfare and safety experts, he said, "working on behalf of their companies," had collaborated with the government's regulators. "Together they had . . . started to spin the web of rules and practices which made government agencies the partners of management in developing more sophisticated techniques for controlling the work force."[8]

The one-sided nature of this cooperation by government during the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover pro-business era of the 1920s eventually became discredited. By 1929 university professor Sumner Slichter, who had been one of the social scientists in support of Progressive policy earlier on, was complaining publicly about "The Current Labor Policies of American Industries."[9] Slichter worried that the results of the cooperative government-employer rationalization process had become "one of the most ambitious social experiments of the age" in which employers used their expanded welfare programs to encourage worker dependency, to discourage class consciousness, and to diminish worker interest in trade unionism.

In light of this critique, the New Deal in the 1930s and 1940s tended to tilt government more in the direction of labor. The Roosevelt administration established a labor education program in 1933 under the direction of Hilda Smith from Bryn Mawr College. In 1934 and 1935 she administered the federally-supported teacher training centers, as Joyce Kornbluh indicated, with labor-oriented content and materials. This program was soon absorbed by the WPA's Workers Service Project, an educational service to labor that continued until 1942.

That same year the ubiquitous Hilda Smith launched a campaign to get Congress to establish a National Labor Extension Service. The proposed organization was to provide educational services for unions as the agricultural extension service provided educational services for farmers. Her efforts failed, not because of the politicians in Washington but because of the concerns of the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

The AFL thought the agricultural extension model put too much control of labor education in the hands of the state universities. It preferred to maintain its labor education under its own control in order to educate on its own terms, a point of view paralleling the employer attitude toward control of such programs expressed earlier by International Harvester. The AFL wanted any labor extension service to supply only "research and the materials so that unions could start their own educational classes." It wanted to prevent what it imagined to be the radical influences of the universities from being exerted on its members. Indeed, the AFL's education committee included some influential members who seemed to hold political biases in tune with right-wing employer groups. "The Hilda Smith proposal," one of the education committee members wrote, "foreshadows education as she did it under WPA . . . when so many 'Commies' found jobs as teachers."[10]

The AFL refused to join other union groups in endorsing the Smith proposal. By the end of 1950 the bill was dead. For the unions, this failed effort seems to have marked the high water level of government interest in supporting labor education.

CONCLUSION

In more recent years, of course, a neo-conservatism has taken power in Washington. With Ronald Reagan's political attack that broke the air traffic controllers' union, an era more akin to the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover period seems to be in sway. And it would be interesting to analyze the degree to which government, labor unions, and business are currently cooperating in worker education in behalf of social integration, the American tradition of worker education since the Progressive Era.

NOTES

1. Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), 128, 130.

2. Ibid., 130, 131.

3. See Gerd Korman, *Industrialization, Immigrants and Americanizers: The View from Milwaukee, 1866-1921* (Madison, Wisc.: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967), for an outstanding description and analysis of the Wisconsin situation. I am indebted to him for much of the detail on the Wisconsin situation, on International Harvester's activities in welfare and safety education, and for his excellent historical interpretations that are noted in the text.

4. See Robert A. Carlson, *The Americanization Syndrome: A Quest for Conformity* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), Chapters 7 and 8.

5. Korman, *Industrialization, Immigrants and Americanizers*, 95.

6. Ibid., 107.

7. Ibid., 88, 116-20.

8. Ibid., 199, 200.

9. Sumner Slichter, "The Current Labor Policies of American Industries," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 43 (May 1929): 432-35; cited by Korman, 193.

10. Author unknown, unpublished manuscript submitted to *Adult Education*, circa 1978. Research financed by a grant from the Rutgers Research Council. This article provided the source of data regarding the attempt to establish a National Labor Extension Service.

THE MORALE OF THE PEOPLE: REFLECTIONS ON ADULT EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Gordon R. Selman

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA SCENE

The Province of British Columbia, whose economy was based in large part on primary industries--forestry, mining and fishing--was especially hard hit by the Great Depression of the 1930s (Thompson & Seager, 1985). Federal government policies adopted to combat the Depression exacerbated the economic difficulties of the Canadian West, which relied heavily on agriculture and the export of raw materials (Smiley, 1963). By 1931, relatively early in the Depression, British Columbia had the highest unemployment rate in Canada. The four Western provinces had the sharpest declines in the country in per capita personal income. In addition, because the coastal area of B. C. has a more moderate climate than does the rest of the country, many unemployed transient persons from elsewhere in Canada "headed West." Many stayed for some years, in spite of concerted efforts to "keep them moving" (Ormsby, 1964; Robin, 1972). Many persons--and families--in the province found themselves in a desperate situation.

Provincial elections in late 1933 brought to power a Liberal Party government which promised a "new deal" and which represented a distinct shift to the left in provincial politics. The Premier described his position as "socialized capitalism" and spoke in terms of a "war on poverty" (Thompson & Seager, 1985, p. 242). The government may properly be described as having a small "l" liberal point of view, and as combining "the philosophy of 19th century liberalism with its respect for individual rights and the point of view of the 20th century that planning must go into the new social order" (Ormsby, 1964, p. 460). (The new Premier of B. C., T. D. Pattullo, told his friends that Franklin Roosevelt, in preparing his inaugural address, must have been studying Liberal campaign literature in B. C.!)

Like most governments which place a great deal of emphasis on social planning, the Liberal Pattullo administration attached importance to the utilization of experts from outside government in developing the "new social order" which it had promised (Ormsby, 1964; Thompson & Seager, 1985). In selecting his Minister of Education (who was also appointed Provincial Secretary), he was able to choose someone who was himself an expert (not a common occurrence in the parliamentary system). This was Dr. George Weir, the former co-chair of a landmark government commission of inquiry which studied the B. C. school system in 1924-25 and produced a report which had substantial impact for at least 30 years (Johnson, 1964). Weir had been appointed professor of education at the University of British Columbia in 1924 and had subsequently become head of a newly-created Department of Education, a position from which he took leave of absence in order to run for political office. Weir was also an enthusiastic supporter of adult education, having frequently made speeches about the field before he entered political life ("Adult Education Stressed," 1930; "Dr. George Weir Speaks," 1932, for instance). He was a high profile minister in the government and had the strong support of the Premier (Mann, 1978). Perhaps this fact, coupled with his recognized expertise in the field of education, allowed him to move with assurance into innovative areas and to acquire the financial resources to support his projects, even in those lean times.

With respect to the field of adult education, Weir already had in place in his Department two outstanding individuals. The first was John Kyle, who had been in charge of technical education and night schools since 1913, having previously given leadership to the pioneering work of the Vancouver School Board's adult education program. The other was J. W. Gibson, the director of correspondence education, who was in the process of transforming the Department's work in that field into one of the most outstanding programs of its kind in the world (Selman, 1988). Weir further strengthened the team by hiring, again from the Vancouver Board, Mr. Ian Eisenhardt, who was to lead in the creation of what became an internationally-renowned provincial recreation program, "Pro-Rec" (Arnold, 1973).

AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

In those Depression years, to a degree which has not been achieved since, adult education became an important instrument of government policy. This is not to say that enormous sums of money were spent on it by today's standards, or that anything approaching today's variety of institutional programs was available. Rather it is intended to point out that there was a clear connection between the political platform of the government and its actions in adult education; between the rhetoric of its overall policies and that used to describe the new measures which it undertook in adult education. In many respects, other measures enacted in the early months of the new government's tenure--an increase in the "relief" payments; a Work and Wages Act which included a raise in the minimum wage; financial assistance to key industries which were in trouble; a start on economic planning and a study of an unemployment insurance scheme; negotiations with Ottawa concerning altered tax arrangements; and the launching of major public works projects--were clearly more spectacular steps towards "a new deal" than actions taken in adult education (Ormsby, 1964; Sutherland, 1960). But many measures were initiated in the field of adult education which were clearly aspects of an overall strategy on the part of the government intended to promote the desired "new social order": e.g., free courses of instruction in vocational subjects; courses in household arts (and free material to work with) for mothers of families on relief; and a vast new recreational program intended to build up the "morale" of the people. An indication of the consciousness of the special quality of some of these measures was that in the reports of the Department of Education at this time, the new, special programs were dealt with in a separate section (called "adult education") and reported on separately from the traditional "Night School" and "Correspondence" work. As well, the Minister appointed an advisory committee containing community representatives, whose responsibility related only to the new programs being undertaken.

A second noteworthy and unprecedented feature of the adult education projects created by the new government was its general goal. The phrase most frequently used in the various government reports of the period spoke in terms of addressing "the morale of the people." Reports on the innovative recreation program organized by the province spoke of aiming "to build up the morale and character" of participants, and on another occasion of "maintaining morale" (British Columbia Public Schools Report [BCPSR], 1934-35, p. 75; 1938-39, p. 79). An overall report on adult education for 1934-35 referred to "the preservation of their skill, self-respect and morale" (p. 68). And a report on the Self-Help project, which will be described later, stated that it was aimed at "preserving the morale of the people" (BCPSR, 1936-37, p. 78).

There are at least two points to be emphasized in this connection. The chief of these, for present purposes, is that the goal of this work was conceived at the time as being related to the whole person. The goal was not described, as is generally the case in adult education, as having to do with one or more of the social roles of the adult--as worker, parent, citizen, or homemaker--but with the person as a total entity--how adult citizens felt about themselves and their society. This tends not to be the way we think of the functions of adult education, and is certainly not the feature of it which we use to "sell" the importance of the field. In the case of British Columbia, at any rate, it is not the sort of idea or rhetoric which has appeared in like government documents at any time since the 1930s.

The other point to be considered is that such language being used in reference to the goals of adult education is very much a reflection of the liberal point of view so typical of the Western democracies in this period (and since). The matter is seen very much in individualistic terms. Also, there was lurking behind such terminology the ever-present connotation that it was vital to help people be in better spirits, better "morale," in the then-current times of trouble, rather than have them succumb to the blandishments of those advocating the overthrow of the system. Depending on one's inclination, one can see these programs, therefore, as arising from altruistic concern about the citizens' welfare, or from the fear that unless something was done to cheer people up, they might turn to the voices of the far left--or the far right--alternatives which were very lively specters during the thirties (Lower, 1953; Mann, 1978; Thompson & Seager, 1985).

Most observers see a combination of altruism and political realism in the approach.

Although the worst years of the Depression brought a falling off in the more traditional adult education activities such as school board night schools (Wales, 1958), the new Liberal administration started a number of new ventures and began to provide financial support for a number of what it judged to be particularly worthwhile projects in the private sector. Foremost among the activities under direct sponsorship were a range of vocationally-oriented training programs which were offered free of charge (mainly through school board night school programs) to persons who were on relief or social assistance of some kind. The list of vocational subjects offered is a long one, and concentrates largely on occupations related to the industries of the province. Among these, incidentally, was a considerable surge of interest in small scale and low tech gold mining procedures--a mark of the times, and the region. Secondly, the Minister gave strong support to J. W. Gibson, his able officer in charge of correspondence education, providing increased resources and enabling his unit, which served both children and adults, greatly to shift the emphasis to the latter. During this period, the Correspondence Branch of the Department enhanced its already considerable reputation in this work. An entirely new field of activity for the Department was the sponsorship and servicing of local play-reading groups throughout the province. By 1939, 177 adult groups were operating (in addition to an even larger parallel service being run at the time by the University Extension Department) (Selman, 1976). A major new venture of the period for the Department was a "Provincial Recreation" program, known as "Pro-Rec." This was announced in late 1934, was based on a Scandinavian model, and was the first program of its kind in North America (Arnold, 1973). Classes and other activities were held in schools, churches, and other community space available, and the program involved a great deal of instructional, as well as recreational, activity. By 1938-39 the program was operating in 114 centers and approximately 21,000 persons (9,141 of whom were unemployed) took part. The language used in government reports on the project concerning its aims were much along the lines described already--"to build up morale and character" (BCPSR, 1934-35, p. 75). And finally, in this list of directly-sponsored activities, reference should be made to the fact that the Department provided a number of teachers and a great deal of teaching material for educational work conducted within the "Relief Camps" for unemployed men which were being operated throughout Canada during this period by the Canadian government (Swettenham, 1968; Thompson & Seager, 1985).

The fourth noteworthy characteristic of the new measures taken in adult education at this time was the willingness demonstrated by the Department of Education to enter into various kinds of arrangements with the voluntary sector in the delivery of new types of service. There had been a tendency in Canada, as in the United States, to use public money in the field of education by means of public institutions. This was perhaps a legacy of the fact that many immigrants in North America were fleeing societies which were elitist in social and cultural terms, often based on domination by church and other private interests. There was a widespread determination that North American society should be more open to individual merit and initiative, and there was a general reliance on public educational systems as part of the social arrangements which would make this possible. It was, therefore, a significant departure from usual practice which was adopted in the emergency and a further dimension of the "new deal" approach. Such co-operative ventures with the private and voluntary sector generally did not continue in the post-Depression period, and certainly not in the post-WW II period.

There were a number of such partnerships created; four will be mentioned as examples. The Vancouver Council of Women, a coordinating and joint action vehicle for women's organizations in Canada, had created a project in early 1933 which involved forming small groups of mothers of families on relief for the combined purpose of providing social contacts and teaching the women how to stretch their resources by means of clothing remodeling, furniture repair and recovering, knitting, weaving, preparing nutritious meals on low budgets, and other household arts. Donations of materials from commercial companies arranged by the Council of Women made it possible to maintain the program at very low cost--and without charge to the members of the groups. This program was known as "Self-Help," and in addition to the regular weekly working meetings of the small groups which have been described, other clubs and activity groups formed--pottery making, choirs, play reading, and acting groups. Generally, the program had the effect not only of teaching practical skills, but also of providing a basis for new friendships and associations and a time away from household routines. By the end of the first year of operation, some 257 women were involved in the program. The Department of Education, seeing the practical and psychological value of such work and realizing that the project simply could not function without the volunteer leadership of Council of Women members, proposed that government funds be donated both to pay for the consumable supplies which were required for the classes (on an increasingly large scale) and to provide an office and coordinator for the work. This blend of voluntary effort and government support proved entirely satisfactory and continued until the early years of the War. At its peak (1937-38) the program involved 1,691 women, and when it was terminated in 1942, over 8,000 women had been involved (BCPSR for years mentioned).

Other projects will be more briefly described. The Vancouver YWCA began a series of three-month programs to train unemployed women who wished to get jobs as maids or housekeepers. The government approached the organization and arranged to cover some of the costs of the training, while leaving the operation of the program in the YWCA's hands. An interdenominational men's Christian organization, the AOTS (As One That Serveth) was financed by the Department so it could operate a "polytechnic school" for unemployed men in downtown Vancouver. This program ran for at least two years, enrolled some 1,000 men, and taught vocational subjects, along with a few classes in English as a second language. The final program to be mentioned involved a group of teachers at the Vancouver Technical School who wrote and tutored a series of correspondence courses in technical subjects to be taken, at no cost, by interested men in the federal relief camps in the province. The Department of Education agreed to assume all the costs of the program, and as many as 871 men were enrolled in the courses in the peak year, 1934-35 (BCPSR, 1934-35).

The other dimension of liaison with the voluntary sector took a different form. It was the decision on the part of the Minister to appoint an advisory committee to give the Department advice on the development of its adult education activities. This was the first time such a committee had been established, and it appears to have been concerned not with the longer-established work (night schools, correspondence courses), but only with the special measures being taken to respond to the Depression emergency. The committee was made up of a mixture of Department officials and representatives of community organizations. It remained in existence for only three years--during the depth of the Depression. (Such a committee was not appointed again by the Department until 1978.)

In these four respects--adult education as a significant instrument of government policy; the philosophical thrust behind its measures; the creation of new adult education services; and new kinds of partnerships with the private and voluntary sector--the approach of the Liberal administration and the responsible minister, George Weir, were innovative, and may appropriately be seen as a clear response to the traumatic Depression conditions. Certainly they stand out in sharp contrast to the activities of the preceding Conservative government. A few dimensions of this work, such as the Self-Help program and the recreation program, carried on into the World War II period, but by the end of the War no trace remained of either of these special programs or the philosophical and policy stance which had been adopted by the Liberal government. (Pattullo and Weir left office in 1941.) Of course, the wartime conditions of full employment removed the need for many of these measures.

How are we to see this phenomenon which took place during the Depression years, and which presumably was duplicated in at least some of its aspects in other jurisdictions? As has been suggested earlier, there are at least two views which can be taken. On the one hand, the measures adopted by the Liberal government and the Department of Education may be seen as a case of government responding to the desperate needs of many persons and families who were at risk in the bleak conditions of the Depression years. Others have preferred to stress the view that such "new deal" approaches were based primarily on fears, on the part of Western governments, that if things were not done to alleviate the desperate conditions in which many citizens found themselves, they would espouse radical ideas and seek the overthrow of the present system. As one student of education in the province in these years has put it, this was a case of the state looking to its own "protection and perpetuation" (Mann, 1978, p. 105). These two views concerning the motivation of governments in this period are not mutually exclusive.

Both of the projects undertaken, and the language used to describe and justify them, appear to fall in the classic liberal philosophical tradition. The approach was in terms of promoting individual welfare and was not directed at the social system as a whole. The concept was one of providing "relief" and boosting the morale of individuals, not addressing the nature of the society which had produced the crisis. (Other elements in society were of course taking this other approach.) The emphasis was on getting people through the crisis, not on transforming the society in any significant way. The goal was the stability of the state, not changing it (Macpherson, 1965).

This having been said, however, one of the most intriguing elements of the story of these Depression years is the fact that, to a degree perhaps unequalled at any other time in the modern adult education movement, leaders in government and public service had a purpose for their efforts in adult education which involved the whole person. Whether it was rhythmic gymnastics, English as a second language, vocational training, or skill courses for homemakers, the reasons stated for delivering the services were consistent: to improve the morale of the people. The intention here is not to engage in polemic about the appropriateness or justifiability of such an aim, but rather to point out its unusual character. To a degree unequalled in any other period since the emergence of the modern adult education movement, the purpose of the public authorities in the field were stated in terms of the total sensibilities of adult persons and how they felt about themselves and their society.

REFLECTIONS FROM THE 1980s

The B. C. Context

The passage of some 50 years since these events makes possible considerable perspective on the nature and uniqueness of the actions of the Liberal administration in that earlier period. We see their initiatives now out of our experience with a vastly expanded, considerably professionalized and institutionalized field of adult education. Also, we now have the context of a society with a welfare "safety net," which was not in place during the desperate thirties.

It is reasonable to ask whether the significant actions taken during the thirties were built upon in subsequent decades or in any way can be seen to have influenced subsequent actions by government. Such questions do not lend themselves to precise or definitive answers. But it is likely reasonable to state that there has been little, if any, influence that has carried over. The reasons are not hard to find; conditions have altered greatly. The Depression was followed by the crisis of World War II, and, in many respects, the wartime experience obliterated the conditions which had been brought on by the Depression. In the post-war period the economy was booming, and employment was at a high level, at least until the late fifties. By that time a conservative government was in power in the province (Social Credit Party) and, except for a brief interlude in the early 1970s, has remained in power ever since. Economic conditions have varied over the years, but we have not experienced a Depression of the depth and duration of that of the thirties (though the one of the early 1980s was severe), and when such times have come, most people have been protected to some degree by the welfare measures in place. So conditions have been different, and the social philosophy of the governments in power have been different.

A further point which should be made is that there has been little in the way of permanent or declared official policy in the field of adult education in the province. Several pieces of legislation authorize or allow public institutions to be engaged in adult education, but little is said beyond that. There has been lots of administrative action in support of adult education activity but very little stated policy. A concerted effort to correct this situation was launched by government in 1979, but was in the end overtaken by the economic recession of the early eighties and government's determination to downsize the scope of government action (Cassidy, 1984; Selman, 1984).

The first characteristic of government action in the 1930s, which was identified above, was that government utilized adult education was a significant instrument of government policy. This has at no time been the case in the subsequent period. Adult education has been a thriving enterprise in British Columbia over the decades, but this has largely been as a result of energetic and imaginative leadership from individuals--within the public service and outside it--and with the assistance of unexceptional levels of government support. Adult education has generally remained in a marginal and minor position in policy terms, and the leadership coming from within government has been minimal. The important exception to this took place in the latter half of the 1970s and into the early 1980s when a progressive and innovative Minister of Education (who, interestingly enough, had crossed the floor from the Liberal to the Social Credit Party) appointed an able senior official in charge of adult education in the Ministry and gave him enough staff and funds to enable him to exert real leadership in the field. A change of leadership in the Ministry and the financial crisis of the early eighties combined to bring this initiative to an abrupt end.

The proclivity of government in the thirties to see the role of adult education as supporting the overall outlook of the citizen has not recurred. The conditions have not ever been the same as in the thirties, and governments in the province have been business-oriented and conservative in their views. Certain national cultural institutions such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board have seen themselves in such a role, but government at the provincial level has not. The closest we have come to it, perhaps, has been in the approach adopted by continuing education leaders in the Ministry of Education in the late seventies in their efforts on behalf of certain disadvantaged groups--the undereducated, those in need of English as a second language, older people, and single-parent families below the poverty line (Cassidy, 1984). What was true of the continuing education unit in the Ministry was not true of the government as a whole, however.

In the category of innovation in the types of adult education services provided by government, certainly there have been significant developments in the subsequent decades, and very great expansion, but except for the measures just mentioned, this has not been an outstanding feature of the field. The school boards, colleges and institutes, and universities have been enabled to expand their offerings over the years, and participation rates in adult education in B. C. are among the highest in Canada, but government's role in bringing this about has not been particularly outstanding. There has been concern in government at certain times about the outreach of services to the rural and small town areas, and the Open Learning Agency, created in the late seventies, has an unusually ambitious mandate in this regard.

The fourth remarkable feature of the thirties was the variety of alliances which were created between the public and private sectors. There has been comparatively little of this since that time. During the progress of a comprehensive study of adult education in the province which was conducted by a government-appointed committee in 1976 (B. C. Ministry of Education, 1976), some committee members wished to submit recommendations in this area, but were steered off this course of action by Ministry officials, who said it was out of the question and would get in the way of implementing other proposals. The matter was shunted to a category "requiring further investigation" (which it has not received). When a Ministry Advisory Committee on Adult Education was created in 1978, its membership was made up entirely of professional educators from the public educational institutions.

The Broader Context

Looking back on the 1930s from the present period, one is struck by a link between the grounds for policy which were expressed in British Columbia in the thirties and the case which has been developed by the proponents of lifelong learning and lifelong education over the last two decades. Of course, lifelong education is promoted on various grounds, but there is a particular "stream" in the literature of that concept which is closely related to the rhetoric of the 1930s. In what follows, this will be pursued by reference to the work of Kidd and Thomas in Canada during the sixties; Lengrand and the Learning to Be report early in the seventies; and certain international works in Europe since that time, especially that of the Council of Europe and the UNESCO Institute at Hamburg.

It should be mentioned by way of introduction to this discussion that there has been a thread running through the literature of liberal adult education for some decades which comes close to reflecting the philosophical position being identified here. The same can be said of some elements of the human potential movement. What we are focusing on here, however, are attempts to develop or propose a public policy which is grounded in a view of the whole person rather than the person in his/her various (usually compartmentalized) social roles.

In the early 1960s Alan Thomas, who was Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) for most of the decade, burst onto the Canadian adult education scene as a thinker of dynamic and original ideas. He drew on the ideas of John Dewey, Marshall McLuhan, and Roby Kidd. If his message were to be summed up in a phrase, it would be the one he used as the title for his address to the landmark National Conference on Adult Education in Ottawa in the fall of 1961, "The Learning Society" (Thomas, 1961). Thomas called on adult educators to focus their attention on learning rather than education and throughout the sixties he developed the idea of a learning society and its implications for both public policy and the practice of adult education. Representative of the further development of his thinking are two publications, A White Paper on the Education of Adults in Canada (CAAE, 1966), which explored some of the implications of his ideas for public policy, and a paper prepared in 1985 under the title "Learning in Society" (Thomas, 1985), which further elaborated the analysis.

Thomas' views, which may be described as liberal in philosophical terms, were based on the transforming power of learning in the lives of individuals and on the "saving" potential of learning if it is harnessed to public and social purposes. At a time approximately a decade prior to the more internationally visible final report of the UNESCO Faure Commission, Learning to Be (UNESCO, 1972), Thomas was exploring many of the same ideas. A few brief quotations from some of his writings will convey the direction of his thinking:

> The only human, dignified way to respond to change is by learning (1961).
>
> Learning, the true currency of post-industrial society. . . . (1961).
>
> Learning together always breeds effective relationships among men (1964).
>
> . . . a whole new moral code, of which learning and competence are cornerstones (1965).
>
> Morality lies in the learning, in the activity itself, and not in the effect of the subject matter (1966).
>
> In every act of learning there is both an act of surrender and a great release of energy (1970). (quoted in Selman, 1985, pp. 11-12)

The point being made here is that in the work of Thomas, an approach to public policy and adult learning was being developed which shared some elements--in terms of the relevance to "the whole person"--with the position adopted back in the 1930s. Some of the same ideas are found in the work of Roby Kidd in the sixties as well, especially in his text for the field, first published in 1959, and in his remarkable lectures delivered in Saskatchewan in 1966 (Kidd, 1959; 1966). In the case of both Kidd and Thomas, we see a shift in focus from education to learning, from pedagogy to mathematics. And in the work of both there is an emphasis on the impact of the act of learning on the total human personality.

By the end of the sixties, there was emerging in the work of the Council of Europe and UNESCO a very similar point of view. The Council of Europe's development of the concept of education permanente put particular emphasis on the cultural and personal impact of lifelong learning (Kallen, 1979; Simpson, 1972). Although UNESCO's sustained work on lifelong education had relevance to many schools of thought about adult life and educational policies, they have come to be strongly identified with a liberal-humanistic view (Knapper & Cropley, 1985).

Paul Lengrand was the chief architect of UNESCO's early work on the concepts of lifelong education and lifelong learning. Rereading his first published statement on the subject, An Introduction to Lifelong Education (1970), one is reminded of the "sense of crisis" to which he was clearly responding. Although the nature of that crisis at the end of the 1960s was very different from that of the 1930s, there was somewhat the same sense of rallying people to the nature of the urgent situation and of the need for maintaining morale in the face of the forces at work. Lengrand expressed concern about the human condition and the many challenges facing society. People must go on learning "if they do not want to find themselves on the losing side" (p. 9). In words very reminiscent of the Depression, Lengrand speaks of the need "to help humans to become more fully themselves" and of the dangers of boredom; "boredom is to the soul as perilous, as fatal an evil as is a virus to the organism" (pp. 21-22). He emphasized the role which learning can play in man "resuming control of himself" and in putting the emphasis on "being rather than on having" (pp. 40-41). It would be possible to push too far with the attempt to see connections between the mentality of the Depression and that of the emergence in recent decades of the current concept of lifelong learning, but there is certainly a similar sense of response to crisis and a clear thread of liberal or liberal-humanist ideology present in both cases. Further insight into the sense of crisis prevailing at the time is provided by works such as P. H. Coombs' The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis, which had been published in 1968.

In 1972 the report of UNESCO's International Commission on the Development of Education, entitled Learning to Be in the English version, burst upon the world of educational planning. As in the case of Lengrand's earlier work, the seven commissioners were obviously deeply impressed by the dangers facing contemporary society and, as well, by the varied critiques of existing educational systems which had appeared on the world scene in both the developing and the more industrialized countries. In terms which spoke clearly to the experience of the 1930s, the report pointed out that education had been "the select instrument by means of which existing values and balances of power have been maintained" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 55) and that no political system could "forego securing its foundations through its educational systems and other means" (p. 150). The report developed the notions of lifelong learning/education and that of "the learning society," professing a belief in "scientific humanism" as a basis for action. It emphasized as well the need to shift from a pedagogical perspective to one of mathetics. Among the basic assumptions stated at the outset of their report was that "only an over-all lifelong education" could allow the individual to cope in the modern world and that the aim of the person must be "to build up a continually developing body of knowledge, all through life--'learn to be'" (p. vi). Although the various roles which the adult plays in life were fully acknowledged in the report, the focus kept coming back to the individual man and woman, their view of themselves and of their society.

Following the publication of Learning to Be, UNESCO asked its Institute for Education in Hamburg to devote a major effort to the development of the concept of lifelong education. The first major publication to result from that work was Foundations of Lifelong Education, edited by R. H. Dave (1976). Once again, we find language reminiscent of that of the 1930s. In his chapter on the philosophical foundations,

B. Suchodolski gives emphasis to "the problem of overcoming alienation" and to "boredom, hopelessness and disintegration," certainly common themes of the earlier crisis, and he stresses that education, which he interprets as "the intensification of human development," is the most essential response to such conditions (pp. 71-72). Elsewhere in the volume, P. N. Kirpal deals with many of the same themes, his commitment to "a new humanism," or "evolutionary humanism," being drawn upon in support of the idea of lifelong learning (p. 107).

Only two other studies which have emerged from UNESCO's explanation of the concept of lifelong education will be referred to. In a volume edited by A. J. Cropley, Towards a System of Lifelong Education (1980), a number of themes dealt with are relevant to the experience of the 1930s. One is the elaboration of the "lifewide" as well as the lifelong dimension of such a system and the redefinition that is required of public and private elements of the field. The reaching out for new relationships with the voluntary sector, which we saw in British Columbia during the Depression years, takes on significant implications in this context. In a later volume by Knapper and Cropley (1985), there is an elaboration of the idea of the whole person, which was a striking feature of policy in the thirties. The authors point out that although in their view the idea of lifelong education need not necessarily serve liberal-democratic values, its development in the literature of the field since 1970 has been based on the assumption that it does, and lifelong education is usually defined as "education for 'liberation,' 'self-realization,' and 'self-fulfillment.'" These are regarded as inevitable results of "forms of education that seek to develop 'whole' beings" (Knapper & Cropley, 1985, p. 19).

It may be pointed out, in conclusion, that while in recent years such humanistic views have influenced or infused much of the literature of lifelong education/learning, we have at the same time been hearing a somewhat complementary view from the analytical philosophy school of writers about adult education. In an early statement of the analytic school, Values, Education and the Adult by R. W. K. Paterson (1979), the author states the case: "Education . . . directly touches our personal being, tending our identity at its roots, and ministering directly to our condition as conscious selves . . ." (p. 15). Another prominent proponent of the analytical approach, Kenneth Lawson (1982), comments that "education implies a concern for moral and evaluative issues consistent with a humanistic approach" (p. 97).

It is clear that in many ways over the last 30 years, the literature concerning lifelong learning and the learning society has devoted considerable attention to themes which were prominent in the "new deal," Depression years of the Liberal government in British Columbia. It is of course not the intention to claim any causal relationship between the two phenomena, but rather to note some common themes--most notably the emphasis on learning's impact on the whole person and the new kind of relationship between the public and private sectors of providers which is required in "the learning society."

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